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The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm.—By ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER, Professor in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City.

INTRODUCTION.

“BECAUSE of thee”—with these words Muhammed is reported to have addressed once his nephew and son-in-law Ali—“because of thee two parties will come to ruin: thy overzealous admirers and thy passionate haters.” In this short sentence, put into the mouth of the Prophet by a retrospective consideration of history, is clearly indicated the main source of the decomposition of Islam in the past and present. For endless woe has been inflicted upon the professors of Islam by Ali and his descendants, the Alids. In the first battle, in which, betraying the principle of “jihâd,” Muhammedans fought against Muhammedans, it was the name of Ali that served as the war-cry, and his name is still the watchword which splits the Muhammedan world into two hostile fractions. Streams of blood and, what is perhaps more important, streams of ink, representing the mental energy of the best and noblest in Islam, were shed to defend or to reject the claims of the Alids. But their claims are not yet settled, the minds by no means pacified, and the cry of revenge “Ḥasan! Ḥusein!” sounds with undiminished violence through the lands of the Shi‘a, arousing hatred and enmity in the hearts of its believers.²

¹ Shahrastāni, ed. Cureton, i, p. 15.

² On the Shiitic Muḥarrām festival see Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, p. 449 sq. An extremely graphic description of an eyewitness may be found in Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Litteratur*, 1901, p. 209 sq.

But more, perhaps, than to the outward destinies of Islam has the influence of Ali and the Alids proved pernicious to its inner development. With no merit, nay, with no intention on their part, but merely as the result of a tragic constellation of historical events, did the ill-fated Alids become the figure-heads of certain movements within Islam which ultimately aimed at undermining its foundations and giving it an entirely new appearance. For Islam, represented by the Arabs, had subjugated not only countries and nations, but also religions and cultures. The non-Arabic races of the conquered countries who mostly for political reasons—to get the full measure of the benefits equally accorded by Islam to all its adherents—became converts to the new faith, could hardly find their spiritual satisfaction in a religion which was so entirely different from their own and in many respects decidedly inferior to it. Their disappointment in finding their religious demands unsatisfied must have been as keen as their disappointment in finding that their hopes for political equality were unfulfilled. No wonder then that under the guise of the new faith these converts persistently clung to their old beliefs and even endeavored to smuggle into Islam some of their most cherished ideas which were essentially un-Islamic and for the most part even anti-Islamic. The result of these endeavors was the formation of a large number of sects with a peculiar, often grotesque mixture of extremely heterogeneous elements. The Caliphs as the official heads of orthodox Islam were no less hateful to these non-Arabic sectarians than they were to them in their capacity as representatives of the Arabic political supremacy. Under these circumstances the “House of the Prophet”—as Ali and his descendants were commonly called—which itself had been wronged, or had been considered wronged, by the ruling powers, became the natural center of all dissatisfaction—economic, political, religious—that had been rapidly accumulating in Islam after its glorious inception. The heterodox sects which arose in the first century of the Hijra, in themselves a violent, though veiled, protest against victorious Islam, were thus driven towards Shiism, i. e. towards Ali and his dynasty as the representatives of the opposition; with the result, not less tragic than paradoxical, that the “House of the Prophet,” which derived its claim exclusively from its connection with the founder of Islam, was chiefly instrumental in destroying or disfiguring his life-work.

This remarkable process, which under the name of "Shiism" has powerfully influenced the destinies of Islam, is known to us but in the roughest outlines. The political tendencies in early Islam are becoming more and more transparent, owing to recent important investigations in this field. We are now able clearly to pursue the rise and development of political parties within Islam and the manifold tendencies that were working under the surface. As far as the *political* aspect of Shiism is concerned, it fully participates in the increase of our knowledge of Muhammedan history. But we have a very imperfect notion of the rise and development of the *religious* tendencies in Shiism and the sources from which they were derived.¹

¹ The origin of Shiism is still a problem which is as little settled, or perhaps less settled, than it was scores of years ago. Formerly the influence of Persian ideas on the rise of the Shī'a was advocated as a matter of course by men like Kremer, Dozy, August Müller, and recently (although in contradiction with his sound remarks in the introduction) by Blochet (*le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie Musulmane*, Paris 1903). This assumption is apparently based on two arguments: (1) on the adherence of modern Persia to Shiism, and (2) on the resemblance between the doctrine of incarnation taught by Shiism and a similar conception current in Central Asia (cf. Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, pp. 14, 361, 377). But the former argument is refuted by the fact that as late as 1500 A.D. Persia was in great part Sunnite (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 101). As for the latter argument, one does not see why the doctrine of incarnation should not rather be attributed, as was already suggested by the great Ibn Khaldūn and even earlier Muhammedan writers, to the influence of Christianity. Wellhausen (*Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, p. 91) pointed to a certain heterodox doctrine of Judaism as the probable source of Shiism. But his view is based upon the report of Ṭabarī, which essentially contradicts that of Shahrastānī and similar writers (contrary to note 1 on p. 91) and deserves as little credit as the information of Ṭabarī about the political rôle of the founders of Shiism disproved by Wellhausen himself (in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, p. 124). Again, van Vloten, as already de Sacy, laid, among other things, great stress on the Messianic tendencies in early Islam as the main source of Shiism (see van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le Khalifat des Omayyades*, Amsterdam, 1894, p. 54 sq. and de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, i. xxxi sq.). But they both erred in putting too much confidence in the accounts of the Arabic writers on 'Abdallāh ibn Sabā, the enigmatic founder of Shiism,—accounts which can be easily proved to be apocryphal (see the index to this treatise, s.v. 'Abdallāh ibn Sabā).

Nearly three score and ten years have passed since Silvestre de Sacy, the originator of modern Arabic scholarship, attempted to give a systematic presentation of Shiism in the introductory chapters of his *Exposé de la religion des Druses* (two volumes, 1838). Almost a whole literature has since been rescued from oblivion and access has been given to historical sources then scarcely dreamt of. Yet a pragmatic history of Shiism which would reveal to us the inner workings and the organic development of this movement is still a desideratum, and will probably remain a desideratum for a long time to come. This peculiar condition is by no means due to a lack of zeal on the part of modern Arabists. It can and must be primarily attributed to a twofold circumstance: to the nature of the problem itself, and to the character of the historical material dealing with it.

One of the main obstacles that prevent a proper understanding of the Shiitic movement lies in the nature of the problem, i. e. in the extremely heterogeneous character of its constituent elements. Possibly the rise, but certainly the development of Shiism took place in 'Irâk, in the province of ancient Babylonia shortly before wrested from the Persians, in a country where, as perhaps in no other, different and even conflicting civilizations succeeded and penetrated one another. For thousands of years 'Irâk had been saturated with the overwhelming Babylonian culture which, though in other forms and through other channels, as, e. g., the movement of Mani or the peculiar sect of the Mandæans, exerted its influence centuries after it had disappeared from the surface. It passed through the hands of the Seleucids and was for nearly eight centuries the seat of the powerful civilization of Iran as represented by the Arsacids and Sassanids. It sheltered for a long period a large Christian population which took an active, if not a leading, part in the spiritual life of the country, serving as a medium not only for

The writer himself ventured to suggest (in his inaugural lecture on "Die Messiasidee im Islam." printed in *Festschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag A. Berliner's*, Frankfurt a. M., 1903, pp. 116-130) as the germ of Shiism a combination of the Jewish belief in the advent of the Messiah with the Christian heterodox doctrine of Docetism, so widely spread in early Islam. This is not the place to enter into details. But the variety of suggestions undoubtedly proves the uncertainty still besetting this fundamental question of Shiism.

the doctrines of Christianity, but also for various phases of Greek thought. 'Irāk was for many centuries the numerical and spiritual center of the Jewish nation, and on its soil Talmudic Judaism grew up and matured as a leading force in Jewish life. All these so very heterogeneous influences came to bear upon young Islam, and the latter, unsettled as yet, was not able to resist this manifold pressure. Since the bearers of these cultures were the non-Arabic races, and the latter, deceived in their political expectations, joined the political opposition, these new influences also came to be associated with this opposition, i. e. Shiism, and the foreign elements in consequence found their first and foremost representatives in the sects of the Shiites. In order therefore to gain a clear conception of the elements of Shiism and of its subsequent development amidst foreign cultures, it will first be necessary to gain a clear conception of these foreign cultures themselves and of their condition at the time when they came in contact with Islam; a difficult and complicated task which practically lies beyond the province of Muhammedan historiography.

Another equally important drawback is to be found in the character of the historical material dealing with Shiism. The main source of our knowledge of Shiitic as well as Muhammedan sects in general are the numerous books on "Religions and Sects," mostly belonging to the third and fourth century of the Hijra, of which the book of Shahrastānī is the chief and best known specimen. We certainly owe a debt of gratitude and admiration to the authors of this "*Milal wa'n-Nihāl*" literature; doubly so when we remember that they were orthodox Muhammedans who firmly believed themselves to be the sole possessors of divine truth and consequently must have considered it a mere luxury to describe and refute doctrines branded beforehand as falsehoods and heresies. At the same time we must not forget that it is the very same belief which greatly detracts from the value of their historical endeavors. The certitude with which they regarded their opponents as a host of heretics who had forfeited their salvation and deserved physical and spiritual extermination, was by no means conducive to historical objectiveness. It was, on the contrary, likely to have the reverse effect in inducing them to ascribe to these heretics tenets which they never held, and to give to the tenets actually

held by them such interpretations as would disgust and deter the orthodox reader.

This difficulty is seriously aggravated by another circumstance which has had disastrous consequences for the whole field of Muhammedan history of religion. Owing to a linguistic misunderstanding of an old tradition,¹ probably also under the influence of astrological ideas,² the Prophet was credited with a saying according to which Islam will be divided into 73 sects, of which 72 will be doomed and only a single one will be saved. This ḥadīth received its final shape in a comparatively late age. For the well-known traveller Muḳaddasī (wrote about 373/985), who displays so vivid an interest in all matters theological, is still acquainted with another more tolerant, but to the Muhammedans, so jealous of their Paradise, extremely painful form of the ḥadīth, according to which only a single sect will be doomed, while the remaining 72 will be saved.³ However this may be, the fact remains that the former less tolerant variant gained the victory and "this ḥadīth, which, with very slight variations, soon came to be generally known, formed the basis of the history of religions and sects in Muhammedan literature."⁴ Muhammedan writers on dogmatic history start from this ḥadīth as an indisputable fact and make convulsive endeavors to squeeze out the required number. As early a historian as Mas'ūdī (died 345/956) considers himself bound by this ḥadīth.⁵ 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baġdādī (died 429/1038), the author of a comprehensive description of Muhammedan sects,⁶ presents in the introduction to his book an itemized, almost businesslike, account of the 73 sects. Shahrastānī (died 545/1153) bases upon this ḥadīth his account of Muhammedan as well as Jewish, Christian and Zoroastrian sects. The same

¹ Goldziher, "Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Schia," in *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, vol. 78 (1874), p. 445. The same writer in his article "le dénombrement des sectes Mohamétanes" in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, vol. 26 (1892), p. 129 sq.

² See Steinschneider, "Die kanonische Zahl der muhammedanischen Secten" in *ZDMG.* iv, p. 145 sq.

³ Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 39. Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, died 606^h, is still acquainted with this variant, Goldziher, *le dénombrement*, etc., p. 132.

⁵ *Murāj ad-Dahab*, v, 475.

⁴ Goldziher, *ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶ See later, p. 26 sq.

holds good in the case of other contemporaneous historians. Later writers go even further. The principle “ikhtilâf al-ummati rahmatun”—“the difference of opinion in the community (of Islam) is an act of (Divine) mercy”¹—which was laid down to serve as an extenuating circumstance for the existence of different legalistic sects in Islam, was, of course, not extended to the heterodox sects. Here, on the contrary, the differences and contradictions had to be regarded as a sign of warning, indicating the perilous nature of these sects. The more numerous and the more contradictory these differences appeared, the more likely was the faithful Muslim to be deterred from any connivance to their heresies. Later writers yield to this tendency and, in consequence, widely exceed the number of 72, claimed by the saying of the Prophet for the heterodox sects. To satisfy their religious conscience, these writers interpret this number as representing the *principal* non-orthodox sects and, thus freed from the restraint of tradition, enumerate such a motley multitude of sects and sections that the “ahl as-Sunna wa’l-jamâ’a” cannot help recognizing the enormous superiority of their own firmly established creed over the fluctuating falsehoods of their opponents. Maḳrîzî’s account of heterodox sects² may be taken as a typical specimen of this artificial enumeration of sects. “The Rawâfiḍ (or Shiites), says Maḳrîzî (died 845/1442) who largely draws from old sources, number *three hundred* sects, of which twenty are well-known.”³ “The Khaṭṭābiyya (a small faction of the Shi’a) are divided into *fifty* sects.”⁴ Many other examples of this kind can easily be quoted.

This tendency toward multiplying the number of heterodox sects is unhappily strengthened by a peculiar feature of the Arabic language, I mean the pliability of the *nisba* ending. For by far more readily than any modern language with its borrowed “isms” is the Arabic language able to handle its ending “*yya*,” appending it with wonderful ease not only to all kinds of nouns, either designating things, or persons, countries and the like, but practically to every part of speech. This linguistic contrivance enables the theologians to manufac-

¹ Cf. Goldziher, *Zahîriten*, p. 94 sq.

² *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, p. 344 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

ture any number of sects required for special purposes. Their descriptions, in consequence, offer an artificial system of names which for the most part lack all historical significance, being nothing but variations of real names, and the identification of the sects thus becomes a matter of utmost difficulty.¹

Before we shall be able to get at the historical kernel and disentangle it from the chaos piled up around it by pious mendacity, the compulsion of a religious tradition and the deceptive use of a pliable language, a long series of preliminary investigations will have to be undertaken and concluded. As for Shiism in particular, the first thing to be done will be to make accessible all the available material bearing on this important section of Islam. This new material, together with that already known, should then be carefully sifted and their respective data critically weighed against each other. The results thus arrived at, presenting, as they would, the actual, not the imaginary, tenets of the Shiites, ought to be compared with and verified by what we know of the cultures that might be thought of as the possible sources of these tenets. Only then, when this preliminary work will have been done, shall we be able to attain to what is nothing perhaps in the eyes of Muhammedan theolo-

¹ A few examples will suffice to illustrate the assertions made in the text. They can be multiplied ad libitum. A part of the Keisâniyya believed in the "badâ" (see the index to this treatise s.h.v.). In consequence a special sect of Badâiyya figures in Îjî's *Mawâkıf* (p. 348). Some of the Shiites held the belief in the advent of the Mahdî (raj'a) or in the transmigration of souls (tanâsukh). Makrîzî therefore records two new sects: the Raj'iyya and Tanâsukhiyya (*Khiṭaṭ* ii, 354). The followers of Muhammed b. Nu'mân with the nickname Shaitân aṭ-Tâk are called the Nu'mâniyya or Shaitâniyya (see index s.h.v.). But it would not appear in any way strange, were this sect to be designated as the Muhammadiyya (after his first name), the Ja'fariyya (after his kunya Abû Ja'far), al-Aḥwâliyya (after his by-name, al-Aḥwal), or were this sect to derive its name from the Mahdis worshipped or the tenets professed by it. It will be seen in the course of this treatise, to what extent the recognition of the actual relations between Shiitic sects is hampered by this artificial variety of names. It may be mentioned in this connection that the same tendency with the same disastrous results prevails in Makrîzî's account on the sects of Judaism (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 476-480). —Dozy (*Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, p. 197) and Kremer (*Culturegeschichte* ii, 400) have already pointed to the pernicious effect of the ḥadîth in the number of sects.

gians, but is everything to us : a history of the *development* of Shiism in connection with the history of Muhammedan culture.

In this light, as a contribution towards the building material for a pragmatic history of the Shi'a, this treatise is herewith presented, centering, as it does, around an account on Shiitic sects by an Arabic writer who preceded Shahrastâni by a full century.

This account, however, considerably increases in value and interest when we think of the man from whose pen it came. For 'Alî b. Aḥmed *ibn Ḥazm* is one of those sharply marked individualities who are so exceedingly rare in *ijmâ'*-ridden Islam, despite its enormous store of mental energy. Ibn Ḥazm was not a pet of destiny. His greatness was neither recognized by his jealous contemporaries nor duly appreciated by a narrow-minded posterity. But should the mental products of Ibn Ḥazm be rescued from the oblivion to which fanatical zeal and unreasonable neglect had doomed them, he will be acknowledged not only as the unrivalled representative of literary Spain, but as one of the greatest men in the whole dominion of Islam.

'Alî b. Aḥmad b. Sa'id b. Ḥazm b. Ġalib b. Šâlih' Abû Muhammed was born in Cordova in the year 384/994, as the son of Aḥmad b. Sa'id, who occupied a prominent official position under the famous Almansor and his successor. Ibn Ḥazm's early life thus coincided with the most stirring period in the history of Muhammedan Spain, when the mighty edifice of the Omeyyad caliphate began to totter and in a series of terrible shocks broke up into a number of petty states. Owing to the position occupied by his father, Ibn Ḥazm could not and would not stand aside, but took an immediate and prominent part in the political vicissitudes of his country. It was however a fortunate circumstance for him, and still more so for Arabic literature, that the constellation of events put an early end to his political career and, as it were, by force made of the brilliant statesman a brilliant scholar.

¹ This genealogy is recorded by al-Kiftî, see *Catalogus Codicum Arabicorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, i (1888), p. 269. A short biography of Ibn Ḥazm is given by Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 202, and by Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i, 400. But some of their statements are erroneous, at least misleading, as can easily be seen from a comparison of their data with those given above. The sources for Ibn Ḥazm's biography are quoted by Brockelmann.

The ancestors of Ibn Ḥazm appear to have been Christians who lived in the district of Niebla. His great-grandfather Ḥazm is said to have been converted to the faith of Islam.¹ But this origin apparently possessed little attraction for a member of the Moorish aristocracy who was besides a passionate hater of Christianity. He was therefore anxious to improve his pedigree and followed the example of his father, who, being an Omeyyad official, shrewdly claimed as his progenitor a certain Persian who enjoyed the clientship of Yazīd, a brother of Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Omeyyad dynasty.² Whether this claim was the cause or the effect, Ibn Ḥazm at any rate always remained an ardent partisan of the Omeyyads, and in the terrible struggle that was raging around this dynasty gallantly fought and staunchly suffered in their behalf. In 1013, when the Berbers captured Cordova and gave full vent to their wild passions, Ibn Ḥazm's beautiful palace in Balāt Muğīth, the eastern suburb of Cordova,³ fell a prey to the flames.⁴ In 1016 Kheirān, the leader of the Slavs, having raised the Berber 'Alī b. Ḥammūd to the throne, sent Ibn Ḥazm to prison for his allegiance to the Omeyyad cause, and later banished him to Azna'l-Kazar, near Séville.⁵ Again in 1018, when the unscrupulous Kheirān, who had become tired of the independent Ḥammudite, proclaimed 'Abdarrahmān IV. al-Murtadhā calif in Valencia, Ibn Ḥazm hastened to join the Omeyyad prince, and bravely fought on his side against the Berbers. 'Abdarrahmān, betrayed by Kheirān, was defeated and slain and his partisan Ibn Ḥazm was captured by the victorious Berbers and kept in prison for some length of time. Once more was Ibn Ḥazm's star to rise, but only to disappear speedily and forever. By a desperate effort the Cordovans succeeded in ridding themselves of their Berber oppressors, and on December 1, 1023, 'Abdarrahmān V., al-Mustazhir, son of the murdered 'Abdarrahmān IV, was proclaimed by a plebiscit in the Mosque Caliph of Spain. Ibn Ḥazm was soon near his youthful sovereign, who was also his friend, and was at once raised by him to the dignity of vizier. But in less than seven weeks 'Abdarrahmān was

¹ Dozy, *Geschichte der Mauren in Spanien* (1874), ii, 210.

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Catalogue*, Leyden, i, 267.

⁴ Dozy, *ib.* p. 190.

⁵ *Catal.*, p. 268.

attacked and slain by the treacherous mob of Cordova and Ibn Ḥazm was once more taken prisoner.¹ When at last released, he was unable to find a resting-place for himself. The hatred of narrow-minded theologians pursued him wherever he went and the rulers of the various states were induced by his enemies to refuse him their hospitality. Finally he settled on his estate Mant Lishâm, near Labla, and there spent the rest of his life. Cured of his political ambitions, he devoted himself exclusively to literary activity, surrounded by a number of young students, who were courageous enough to seek the company of the unpopular and generally persecuted man.² He died in the solitude of his estate in the year 456/1064.

The leisure thus forced upon Ibn Ḥazm by adverse political circumstances was utilized by him to its utmost limits. Ibn Ḥazm became an author of that stupendous productivity which we find so characteristically represented in Arabic literature. The Arabic bibliographers who measure a man's greatness by the size and weight of his wastepaper basket faithfully report that Ibn Ḥazm's works amounted to "a camel's load," and we are reliably told on the authority of his son that their number reached the formidable sum of four hundred.³ To be sure, Arabic bibliography, as bibliography in general, is more concerned with the title-page of a literary work than with its contents, and is prone to confer the honorific title of a book where one would rather speak of a pamphlet or even a circular. Yet with all these limitations, Ibn Ḥazm's productivity lays claim to our unreserved admiration.

We must, however, be careful not to become prejudiced against Ibn Ḥazm's writings because of their quantity. We would do the man gross injustice, were we to put him on the same plane with some of the Arabic polygraphs, those living writing-machines whose activity is more a matter of perseverance than of ability. On the contrary, the trait that strikes one in Ibn Ḥazm first is his originality and its outward complement, brilliancy. It is this originality, coupled with truthfulness and fearlessness, which stamps Ibn Ḥazm as a really great man. His originality is perhaps best testified by the fact that, though he

¹ Dozy, *ib.* p. 205 sq.

² *Catalogue Leyden* (first edition), i, 230.

³ *Ibidem.*

himself was more orthodox than the orthodox, his writings were accorded the honor of a public auto-da-fé in his lifetime¹ and were pursued by prohibitions long after his death.² The light in which posterity judged this originality is strikingly illustrated by the protest of the famous mystic Ibn 'Arabî (died 634/1240), who emphatically denies to be one of those who constantly repeat: "Thus saith Ibn Hazm." As to the brilliancy of his style, it is charmingly displayed in the graceful description of his early love, which won for him the distinction, conferred upon him by the best judge of Moorish culture, himself a brilliant writer, of being the most thoughtful poet of Spain,⁴ and it manifests itself with equal power in the violent sarcasm of his polemics, which originated the later phrase designating the tongue of Ibn Ḥazm as a twin-brother of the bloody sword of the famous general Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.⁵

One of the chief products of Ibn Ḥazm's literary activity is the work to which this treatise is mainly devoted: his "*Kitāb al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*," the "Book on Religions and Sects." The originality of his mind shows itself in the very design of the book, which is the first attempt—termed "genius-like" by the foremost authority on the religion of Islam⁷—to extend the legalistic system of the Ṣāḥirite school over the whole field of Muhammedan dogmatics. As for the brilliancy of his style, it is perhaps nowhere shown to better advantage than in the chapters directed against Judaism and Christianity, which are an inimitable specimen of the Arabic art of "mujādala," and, despite the abusive and sometimes even vulgar language, are a delightful example of Arabic scientific prose.

This work moreover bears witness to other qualities of Ibn Ḥazm which mark him as the most eminent historian of religion in Arabic literature and attach to his information exceptional value and importance. One is struck at the outset with the

¹ *Ib.* 230, 234.

² Ḥâjî Chalfâ vi, 115.—Ibn Chaldûn, *Muḥaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, p. 4.

³ ZDMG. 52, 516.

⁴ Dozy, *Geschichte*, p. 211.

⁵ Ibn Khallikân, s.v.

⁶ On the variations in the title of the book see my article "Zur Composition von Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Niḥal*" in *Orientalische Studien*, i, (1896), p. 267, n. 1.

⁷ Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 136.

wide outlook of the author, which comprises within its compass not only the whole of the Muhammedan world, but extends a vast deal beyond it. It is not mere boasting on his part when he occasionally remarks:¹ "We have come in contact with, and received information from, people of distant countries, and have always been anxious to enquire into things that were unknown to us. We have had at our disposal numerous historical works containing the records of many nations, both Arabs and non-Arabs. We have also received information about the kingdoms of the 'Christians, as far as the country of Râm (Byzantium), also about the kingdoms of the Slavs,² Turks, Hindus and Negros, both of ancient and modern times." The work, written at the height of Moorish culture, displays that broad universalistic spirit by which nothing human is deemed foreign, and his arraignment of Judaism and Christianity reveals an intimate knowledge of other religions which is quite unique during the middle ages and very rare even in modern days. But though a scholar of vast erudition, Ibn Ḥazm was by no means a book-worm. Ibn Ḥazm learned from men as much as, or even more than, he learned from books. A vizier, the son of a vizier, he was in early life involved in the vicissitudes of a stirring revolutionary period. He saw a good deal of the world and came in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, turning this living experience into excellent account in his literary work. This breath of life is the most refreshing and at the same time the most valuable feature of Ibn Ḥazm's standard work. He enjoyed the personal acquaintance not only of representatives of various shades of Muhammedan thought and dogma, but also of the foremost champions of the two other religions of Spain, of Judaism and Christianity. When still in Cordova at the age of twenty, he discussed Biblical passages with the famous Jewish statesman and scholar Joseph ibn Nagdela,³ and the Bishop⁴ as well as the Dayyân⁵ of Cordova were counted among his friends. References to Christian and more so to Jewish contemporaries are very fre-

¹ *Milal wa'n-Nihal*, ed. Cairo, i, 175.

² The Vienna manuscript adds "Khazars."

³ *M. wa'n-N.*, i, 152 and 135.

⁴ *Ib.* ii, 108.

⁵ *M. wa'n-N.*, codex Vienna, fol. 100^b.

quent in his book,¹ and, while adding considerable weight to his information, they also bear splendid evidence as to Ibn Ḥazm's many-sidedness and thirst for knowledge.

Another striking trait of Ibn Ḥazm's personality as displayed in this book is his critical acumen and his keen power of observation. Ibn Ḥazm keeps an open eye on the world around him and perceives things, and details of things, which would escape a less keen observer. His statements are never blurred, but always definite and admirably accurate. Though a thinker of no mean order, he never seeks refuge in ambiguous abstractions but always carries the analysis of things down to their minute details. Many an interesting specimen of this thoroughness can be found in the *Milal wa'n-Nihāl*. Discussing the passage Matthew xiii, 31-32, he polemically remarks that the author must have been completely ignorant of agriculture. "We saw the mustard plant ourselves, we also knew others who had seen it in distant countries. Yet we never saw nor were we told by those who had seen anything of the plant that a bird could dwell on it."² Referring to a wide-spread Jewish legend³ which told of a Jewish sage of Bagdad who miraculously came over to Cordova⁴ to punish a certain Ibn al-Iskenderānī for having oppressed the Jews of the latter city, he at once plunges into a description of the man and his family and the place where they lived, so as to prove the absurdity of the legend and the mendacity of the Jews. His lucid and scholarly expositions on chronological, geographical and similar complicated questions of Biblical criticism bear witness to the same effect.⁵

But the characteristic which constitutes the real greatness of Ibn Ḥazm and is of paramount importance for the subject dealt with in this treatise is his truthfulness. "With reference to the dogmas (of the Shiites), Abū Muhammed Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-Milal wa'n-Nihāl*—a work, I am sorry to say, not yet sufficiently studied, but in every respect worthy of further propagation and

¹ Cmp. Goldziher in *Kobak's Yeshurun* viii (1872), p. 76 sq. and Hirshfeld in *Jewish Quarterly Review* xiii (1901), p. 222 sq.

² *M. wa'n-N.*, ii, 34.

³ *Ib.* i, 156.

⁴ The Edition (i. 156, l. 2) has قريظة which may only be a misprint. The manuscripts of Leyden and Vienna have the correct reading.

⁵ Cmp. his lengthy discussion of the number of the Jewish military recruits, i, 165 sq., or his geographical explanations, i, 166.

scrutiny—certainly is an excellent source. He, too, is polemical in the course of the whole work, and not without passion. Nevertheless he is of sufficient historical fidelity.” Ibn Ḥazm’s truthfulness is of the right sort, being as anxious to say the truth as to avoid an untruth. He is always ready to call a spade a spade and to shower upon his opponents the inexhaustible stream of Arabic invectives. His attacks, e. g., on al-Ash‘arī, the patron-saint of orthodox Islam, whom he stigmatizes as an infidel, are of an incredibly violent nature, and they were probably the cause of the persecutions to which his writings were subjected. But at the same time Ibn Ḥazm is ready to do justice to people with different and even opposite opinions. In his attacks on Jews and Christians he is always anxious not to misjudge things, and he often quotes and carefully considers their counter-arguments. “We have already mentioned,” remarks Ibn Ḥazm in the course of his polemics, “that we shall not use against them any quotation from their Torah which is not clear in its meaning, since the opponent might reply by saying that the Lord meant by it anything he likes.”² In the same spirit he solemnly pledges himself, in the introduction to his treatise on the “depravities” of the extreme heterodox sects, a subject which invites misrepresentations, that he will never charge an opponent with a heterodox view unless he can justify it by a verbal quotation from the opponent’s own writings, “be he an unbeliever, a heretic or a mere sinner, since lying is not permissible against anybody.”³ This attitude raises Ibn Ḥazm far above the level of other Muhammedan writers on similar subjects and renders his statements singularly trustworthy.

Last, but certainly not least, Ibn Ḥazm’s report on the sects of Islam is of exceptional value because of its being, as far as we know, the only one which is not fettered by the tradition on the 73 sects. In consequence of his rigid conception of Muhammedan tradition,⁴ Ibn Ḥazm completely ignores this ḥadīth, which is neither recorded by Bukhārī nor by Muslim, and no mention of it is made throughout the bulky work. The effect is at once evident in a more logical division of Muhammedan sects

¹ Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Schi‘a*, p. 443.

² *Mīlal*, i, 165.

³ *Mīlal*, iv, 178.

⁴ Cmp. Kremer, *herrschende Ideen*, p. 138 sq.

(see later) and in a considerably reduced number of sect names. We may safely assume that each name recorded in the *Milal wa'n-Nihal* represents a historical fact and not, as in the case of all other writers, a mere product of imagination.

Having allotted so much space to the merits of Ibn Ḥazm's work, we would appear not quite unbiassed were we to suppress all mention of its shortcomings. As early as in the fourteenth century a well-known Muhammedan theologian emphasized the superiority of Shahrastânî's book over that of Ibn Ḥazm on the ground that the latter was "scattered and without proper disposition."¹ Though the reproach expressed in these words loses much of its force when the history of the book is more closely considered, yet it must be admitted that this criticism strikingly characterizes the book of Ibn Ḥazm in distinction from that of Shahrastânî. Ibn Ḥazm with his agile mind and fiery temperament certainly did not possess the academic fishblood of the scholar and systematizer Shahrastânî. Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal*, particularly the sections dealt with in the present treatise, indisputably lack the systematic roundness and scientific classification, so conspicuous in the rival work. More especially the account on the Shiites is quite unmethodical and often very abrupt. But all these shortcomings fade into insignificance before the great characteristics of Ibn Ḥazm's personality: his breadth of outlook, his power of observation and, above all, his fairness of judgment.

The *Kitâb al-Milal wa'n-Nihal* is not a work of a uniform and harmonious construction. Its composite nature can be easily traced and demonstrated. On another occasion² I endeavored to disclose the original plan of the book and the way it was carried out. Here it will suffice to state the results arrived at. Originally the *Milal wa'n-Nihal* was conceived as a mainly dogmatic composition. The description of the religions and sects proper occupied but a fourth of the work, while the rest scrutinized the Muhammedan dogmas from the point of view of Zahirite doctrine. Subsequently, however, the author tried to do more justice to the title of the book by incorporating with it two large

¹ as-Subkî, quoted by Hâjî-Chalfa, vi, 116.

² In *Orientalische Studien*, 1906, published on the seventieth birthday of Prof. Nöldeke, pp. 267-277.

monographs written previously, one consisting of a polemical treatise directed against Judaism and Christianity, the other being an account of the tenets of the extreme heterodox sects of Islam.

Ibn Hazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal* is preserved in five manuscripts which may here be enumerated in chronological order: 1) A manuscript of the University Library of Leyden (henceforward designated as L) in two volumes, the first dated 722^h, the second 734^h.¹ 2) A codex in the British Museum (=Br) consisting of two volumes both written in 734^h.² 3) An incomplete manuscript of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna (=V) dated 1091^h.³ 4) A manuscript in Cairo of the year 1271^h (see later). 5) A manuscript in three volumes in the library of Yale University (=Y) written in 1298^h.⁴ The Cairo manuscript was recently reproduced in a printed edition (henceforward designated as Ed) which appeared in Cairo in five parts in 1317–1321^h. A glance at the various manuscripts reveals the existence of systematic divergencies between them which can only be explained as representing various stages in the composition of the book. Flügel,⁵ who only saw the Vienna manuscript, already observed that the words “Says Abû Muhammed,” by which almost every paragraph of the book is introduced, point to the fact that the book was, from dictation or otherwise, written down and edited by a strange hand. This observation seems to gain support from the discrepancies in the dates mentioned in various sections of the book. Thus at the beginning of his work Ibn Hazm speaks of the reign of Hishâm al-Mu’tadd (418–422^h)⁶ as being contemporaneous. On the other hand, at the end of his polemics against Judaism and Christianity he refers to the year 450^h and in a passage shortly before to 450 and odd years. Again in a later section of the book the year 440 is to be inferred as the date of composition.⁷ A more minute scrutiny discloses the fact

¹ *Catalogue* Leyden (1866), iv, 230 sq.

² Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*, London 1871, ii, p. 726.

³ Flügel, *Catalogue* Vienna (1865), ii, No. 975.

⁴ See later, p. 24.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 198 Anm. 1.

⁶ *Milal*, i, p. 16. The Edition has **المعتبد**. See Lane-Poole, *Muhammedan Dynasties* (1894), p. 21, and Maḳkari i, 191, note c, and 282, note c.

⁷ *Milal*, iv, 94, l. 2.

that the five manuscripts go back to two distinctly marked recensions. The exact relationship between these two recensions can, of course, be determined only by means of a careful collation which would include all manuscripts and extend over the whole book, a task which, in consideration of the size of the *Milal wa'n-Nihal*, would demand an enormous amount of time and patience. Personally I have been able to collate all manuscripts extant (with the exception of the Cairo manuscript, which is reproduced in the printed edition) only for the portions translated in this treatise. I have also consulted the manuscripts of Leyden and Vienna for many a passage in the earlier part of the work, especially in the chapters bearing on Judaism and Christianity, occasionally also in the latter sections. These collations form the basis of the following observations, which, because of the fragmentary character of the former, do not in any way pretend to be exhaustive or definitive. The relationship between the various codes seems to differ in the different sections of the book. In the earlier part, the two oldest contemporaneous codices, L. and Br., belong to different categories, the latter forming one group with V., the former siding with Y. and Ed. The affinity between Br. and V. is here of so close a nature that it can be explained only by assigning a common original to both, or by regarding the one as the copy of the other. L. and Y. as well as Ed. go, as a rule, together. But they also show slight variations and in some important instances correspond with Br. and V. The latter part of the work presents quite a different aspect. Eliminating V., which is defective, we can see at a glance that L. and Br. on one hand and Y. and Ed. on the other present two sharply marked types. The resemblance between the manuscripts of each group is so striking that no doubt is left as to the identity of their respective originals.

The observations just offered necessarily remain fragmentary and uncertain, owing to the incompleteness of the evidence upon which they are based. A closer investigation will no doubt bring out more clearly the evidently complicated relations between the various manuscripts. One fact, however, must be noticed right here. In the chapter bearing on Shiism, which originally formed a part of a monograph on heterodox sects,

¹ *Zur Komposition*, etc., p. 272 sq.

the differences between the two recensions are not mere variants, but frequently affect the contents to a considerable extent. The group consisting of L.-Br. offers many an additional reading which is of historical importance. Some variants directly contradict one another. It is therefore important to establish the relative age of the recensions. Happily there is one passage in the book which gives us an important hint in this direction. Speaking of the Mahdî of the Shiites, who was born about 260^h,¹ he slightly remarks: "And they (the Shiites) are still waiting for a lost object since 180 years." L.-Br. read "180 and *odd* years." This group would thus appear to be later by a few years than the recension represented by Y. and Ed. It must however be admitted that in face of the divergencies in the dates in the various parts of the book, this evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive, and may perhaps be valid only for the latter part of the book, from which the passage under consideration is derived.

The texts published in translation in this treatise consist of four pieces derived from various sections of the *Milal wa'n-Nihal*. The first piece is composed of Ibn Ḥazm's general account of the sects of Islam and serves as an introduction to his elaborate examination of the Muhammedan dogmas to which the book is in main devoted. This account is very brief, quite in accordance with its introductory character. It does not limit itself to the Shiites, but presents a brief survey of all Muhammedan sects. Since the description of Shiism is interwoven with that of other sects, the piece had to be given *in extenso*; a limitation to Shiism would have resulted in a motley number of fragmentary passages. The second piece in this treatise is represented by the chapter on Shiism taken from the originally independent monograph on the extreme heterodox sects, which is now incorporated with the *Milal wa'n-Nihal*. The third piece gives an extract from the chapter on the Imâmate, as far as it has an immediate bearing on the tenets of Shiism. The fourth, and last, piece gives a brief synopsis of Shiism which is

¹ Or rather who was supposed to have been born. Ibn Ḥazm denies his existence altogether; see later, pp. 48 and 76. I take the date of his father's death. The officially recognized date of the Mahdî's birth is 255^h.

² *Milal*, iv, 94, 1. 2.

extant only in the manuscripts of Leyden and the British Museum, and is therefore presented both in text and translation.

The reader will see at a glance that the second piece containing the chapter on Shiism is both in size and contents the most important of the texts published below. It is, in fact, the backbone of this treatise. To be sure, the chapter in question, as has already been hinted at, is very far from being an exhaustive or even comprehensive presentation of Shiism. As far as this chapter is concerned, its incompleteness may be explained by the fact that the monograph, of which it originally formed a part, limited itself by the very title to the "depravities," i. e. the extreme sects of the Shi'a. But it must also be admitted that even the description of the extreme sects is fragmentary and abrupt, and that the same abruptness is to be noticed in the other texts. Yet, in spite of this defect, Ibn Ḥazm's account is of great historical value. It contains a number of facts which have hitherto not been known at all, or been known only in part or in different form. It also reveals a clear and original conception of the nature of Shiism and of the development of its sects. Apart from the general merits characterizing the literary activity of Ibn Ḥazm, we may conscientiously assert that the information contained in the texts given below contributes a considerable and valuable material towards the history of this important religious movement.

The disconnected and abrupt character of the texts makes a synopsis of their contents almost impossible. On the other hand, this very same circumstance renders a synopsis unnecessary. I will therefore limit myself to a few remarks on Ibn Ḥazm's division of the sects of the Shi'a, which underlies his whole account. The division of the sects of Islam in general is, mainly because of the baneful ḥadīth, a matter of extreme difficulty and discussion. Shahrastānī, in the introduction to his *Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, justly remarks that he has not found two writers who agreed on this question, and an examination of other Muhammedan histories of religion only confirms this observation. A similar confusion prevails in the division of Shiitic sects in particular. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the infirmity and arbitrariness of all such divisions. 'Abd-al-Kāhir al-Baġdādī (d. 429/1038), a contemporary of Ibn Ḥazm,¹ who

¹ See later, p. 26.

bestows great pains on a precise classification of the 72 heterodox sects, counts twenty of these to the Shi'a. He distributes these twenty over three main sects: the Zeidiyya (4), the Keisâniyya (1), and the Imâmiyya (15). The Ġulât ("Extremists") are not reckoned to Islam at all. Shahrastânî (d. 548/1153), on the contrary, counts the Ġulât (or Ġâliya) to the Muhammedan sects, and enumerates five Shiitic sects: the Keisâniyya, Zeidiyya, Imâmiyya, Ġâliya, and Ismâ'iliyya. Maḳrîzî, again, (d. 845/1442) who knows Ibn Ḥazm's work and frequently plagiarizes it, follows in the division of sects a system of his own which is highly artificial. All the sects of Islam deviating from the Sunna are considered and called by him Ġulât, "Extremists," i. e. driving to an extreme the moderate principles of orthodox Islam. These Ġulât, and with them all heterodox sects, are divided into ten principal categories. The ninth is occupied by the Shiites or, as Maḳrîzî prefers to call them, the Rawâfiḍ.¹ Twenty sects are numbered under this heading, among them the Imâmiyya, Keisâniyya and Zeidiyya, but also many small and insignificant factions. At the end of his classification, Maḳrîzî, stimulated by the tendency outlined above, pours out a vast number of other heterodox sects which scarcely have any reality beyond their names.

Ibn Ḥazm, who rejects the ḥadīth in question, and is in consequence not bound to any number, makes no attempt at an elaborate enumeration of the sects of Islam. In spite of it, or more probably because of it, his division of Muhammedan sects in general and of Shiitic sects in particular is the most natural and logical. Islam is accordingly divided into five sects, or, as the Sunna, properly speaking, is no sect, into four sects: the Mu'tazila, Murji'a, Khawârij, and Shi'a, the two former representing the dogmatic side, the two latter representing the political side of Islam. Kremer, in his "History of the Leading Ideas of Islam" (p. 16 sq.), rightly makes this division of Ibn Ḥazm the point of departure for his consideration of Muhammedan dogmas. As regards Shiism, Ibn Ḥazm shows the clearest conception of the problem by laying down the question of the Imâmate as principium divisions. The whole Shi'a accordingly appears divided into two large sections: on the one hand the

¹ See the index to this treatise, s.v. Rawâfiḍ.

Zeidiyya and on the other the Imâmiyya, or, to use the nomen odiosum by which Ibn Ḥazm as well as other writers often designate the latter, the Rawâfiḍ. Both sections agree in the conception of the Imâmate as the exclusive privilege of the descendants of 'Alî. But they differ in their attitude toward the claims of 'Alî himself, and consequently in their judgment of 'Alî's opponents. In the opinion of the Imâmiyya, 'Alî was entitled to the caliphate by virtue of a written will of the Prophet. The "Companions," however, maliciously made this will disappear. The first caliphs were consequently usurpers and, acting, as they did, against the express wish of the Prophet, must be considered infidels. As such, they cannot be considered the bearers of Muhammedan tradition, and thus, with the exception of the Koran, a complete reorganization of Islam becomes necessary. The Zeidiyya deny the existence of a written will. 'Alî's claims to the Imâmate merely lay in his superior qualities. His rejection on the part of the "Companions" was not prompted by any premeditated malice but solely due to an unintentional lack of appreciation. The first caliphs consequently were legitimate rulers, and they as well as the other "Companions" must be acknowledged as the rightful bearers of Muhammedan tradition. Thus the whole difference between the two sections of Shiism reduces itself to their attitude toward the "Companions" as the bearers of Islam. It is evident that the Zeidiyya are closely related to the Sunna, especially so when we remember that the Sunna itself yielded more and more to the Alidic tendencies prevalent among the masses of the Faithful, whereas the very basis of the Imâmiyya is a protest against orthodox Islam as handed down by the "Companions." In a survey which confines itself to the "*depravities*" of the Shiites there is consequently little room for the Zeidiyya. Only one section of them, the Jârûdiyya, is quoted at the beginning of the chapter on Shiitism (part B. of our text). But it is left unexplained whether they owe this distinction to their belief that the rejection of 'Alî was an intentional act of treachery and that the Companions were consequently infidels, or whether it is due to their belief in the second advent of certain Mahdîs,—a belief which they largely share with the Imâmiyya. The tenets of the latter, of course, occupy a much more prominent place among the "*depravities*" of the Shiites, and the bulk of the chapter

is devoted to them. The Ġulât—on this point Ibn Ḥazm agrees with al-Baġdâdî—are no Muslims at all. Only inasmuch as their tenets are bound up with the personality of 'Alî, they are counted among the extreme sects of Shiism.

Between these two well-defined parties the sect of the Keisâniyya, which in early Islam played so important a rôle, occupies a somewhat ambiguous position. All other historians who regard as the basis of Shiism—common both to the Zeidiyya and the Imâmiyya—the restriction of the Imâmate to the descendants of *Fâtima*, necessarily place the Keisâniyya, who believe in the Imâmate of Muhammed ibn-al-Ḥanafîyya, 'Alî's son by another wife, in a separate category. Ibn Ḥazm, however, who considers the underlying principle of Shiism the recognition of the Imâmate of the descendants of 'Alî, obviously makes the question of a written will the point of departure, and, since the Keisâniyya on this cardinal point agree with the Zeidiyya, expressly counts them among the sects of the latter. But our author is not consistent. For in the course of the chapter he reckons the Keisâniyya, on account of some peculiar tenets held by them, among the Imâmiyya. On the whole, it must be said that Ibn Ḥazm's description betrays a painful lack of disposition. The chapter on Shiism suffers particularly from this defect. The various parts of the account cannot be easily distinguished. It is quite difficult to state where the report on the Zeidiyya ends and that on the Imâmiyya begins. Nor does the description of the individual sects within this range show any proper order. The value of Ibn Ḥazm's account on Shiism is not to be attributed to its stylistic merits but principally to the facts it communicates and the historical material it contributes towards a better knowledge of the sects of the Shi'a.

The present treatise is based on a monograph by the same author written some five years ago in German. It reproduced the texts now offered in English translation in the original Arabic, as the *Milal wa'n-Nihal* had not yet appeared in print and was only accessible in manuscripts. The first manuscripts I was able to peruse were those of Leyden and Vienna, which by the courtesy of the respective libraries were sent to me at Strassburg (Germany), where I lived at that time. The text of

the piece which appears here as part A. was based on these two manuscripts. For the second piece, the chapter on Shiism, I was limited to the Codex of Leyden; the Vienna manuscript being defective in this place. The contents of the chapter, which teems with proper names, and the character of the manuscript, which is practically void of all diacritical points, made it impossible to construct any reasonable text on so inadequate a basis. It was then that Professor Goldziher with characteristic kindness offered me his copy of this chapter made by him in 1878 from two twin-manuscripts belonging to Count Landberg one of which is now in the possession of the library of Yale University.¹ This copy presented a different recension of the *Milal wa'n-Nihāl*, but it was nevertheless of incalculable value for the establishing of a critical text, and without it any attempt at publication would have proved a failure. As for the last two pieces, given here as C. and D., they were reproduced from the Leyden manuscript only, since their contents on the whole offered no unsurmountable difficulties. The texts constructed in the described manner and accompanied by introduction and notes constituted the said monograph, which was presented to and accepted by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Strassburg as "Habilitationsschrift" preliminary to the author's admission as "Privatdozent." Subsequently, during several visits to London, I was able to consult the codex of the British Museum and, having settled in this country, I also had access to the manuscript stored in the library of Yale University. In the meantime, Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wan-Nihāl* had appeared in print in Cairo, being the faithful reproduction of a modern manuscript of that city.

All these circumstances greatly influenced the further destinies of the monograph and considerably altered and widened its scope. In the first place, it became necessary to utilize the new material afforded by the study of hitherto inaccessible manuscripts. With the publication of the *Milal wa'n-Nihāl* the value of the manuscript extracts was considerably impaired and

¹ In Professor Goldziher's copy the two manuscripts are designated as A and B. The Yale manuscript is unquestionably identical with B, as can be seen from the few passages in which A and B slightly differ from one another (cmp., e. g., p. 48, n. 7). I have been unable to find out where A is at present.

it therefore became advisable to give the texts in translation instead. On the other hand, it was impossible to disregard the aid offered by the manuscripts at our disposal, two of which (those of Leyden and the British Museum) are five hundred years older than the manuscript reproduced in the printed edition. The text of the edition had to be carefully compared with that of the manuscripts, and the variants had to be embodied in the critical apparatus accompanying the translation.

A few remarks concerning the character of the translation offered below may prove useful to the reader. It is an obvious fact for the student of Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihāl* that the text of the edition represents a recension which essentially differs from the manuscripts of Leyden and the British Museum in the greater part of the work, and from the codices of Vienna and the British Museum in the earlier part of it. The recension offered by L. and Br. is apparently younger, and most probably represents a revised edition of Ibn Ḥazm's work. In spite of this fact the author of the present treatise deemed it his duty to base his translation on the text of the edition which is generally accessible. It was impossible to revise and amplify the printed text by means of the manuscripts, as this would have resulted in an unbearable mixture of recensions, which would have done justice to neither recension. It seemed, on the contrary, advisable to relegate the manuscript variants, however important, into the critical apparatus at the bottom of the translation. On the other hand, it was impossible to reproduce the printed text word for word, as the manuscript, of which the text is a slavish reproduction, is apparently faulty, and full of errors and lacunae. The text of the edition had consequently to be corrected first, and then in this amended form be made the basis of the English translation. The deviations of the latter from the printed Arabic text are made noticeable to the eye: the corrected readings by larger type and the words missing in the edition by square brackets. As regards the various readings, only those were recorded which appeared to be of some value in one way or the other. Mere stylistic variations were disregarded. Wherever the variants contained some historical information, or differed materially from the translated text, they were made conspicuous in type, so as to enable those readers who are merely interested in the historical aspect of the texts, to recognize at a glance

the readings which are of special interest to them. For the convenience of the reader the text was also divided into paragraphs. The manuscripts offer no breaks whatever, and the division in the edition is apparently arbitrary, and in most cases nonsensical. The headings of the various sections of the text were added for the same reason.

The introduction, offered herewith, had to be re-written, so as to include the increased material, now at the disposal of the author, and the results of his continued study of Ibn Ḥazm's work.

The commentary endeavors above all to be what the word designates: an explanation of the text, which is mostly abrupt and frequently obscure. The scarcity of literature on our subject, however, made it imperative to widen the scope of the commentary, and to include a careful and systematic discussion of the topics treated or suggested by Ibn Ḥazm. In doing so, the author tried to turn to account the modern literature on the subject in various European languages, so far as it represents original research, and to compile all the material available in Arabic literature. In the latter respect, the author was fortunate enough to have at his disposal a valuable and not inconsiderable material derived from manuscripts. The various manuscripts, quoted in various parts of this treatise, will be designated in due course. Here I will confine myself to a general reference to two manuscripts quoted throughout this treatise, which proved exceptionally valuable for our investigations. Both manuscripts are stored in the Imperial library in Berlin, and are closely related to each other. The one is the *Kitāb al-farḳ beīna 'l-ḥiraḳ*, "Book on the Differences between the Sects," by Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Kāhīr b. Ṭāhīr al-Baḡdādī (died 429/1038, see Ahwardt's *Catalogue*, No. 2800), and a work of the same title by Shuhfār b. Ṭāhīr b. Muhammed al-Isfrāīnī (died 471/1078, *ibidem* No. 2801). The former is known from a few quotations by Schreiner in ZDMG. (vol. 52) and in his book "Der Kalām in der jüdischen Litteratur"; the latter is often referred to in Haarbrücker's translation of Shahrastānī, and in the notes to the edition of the *Fihrist*. Each of these writers is quoted by Ḥāji Chalfā (vi, 115) as the author of a *Kitāb al-Milāl wa'n-Nihāl*, of which frequent mention is also made in the *Kitāb al-farḳ* of Baḡdādī. It appears, in fact, that

the manuscripts in question are extracts from a larger work which may have represented this *Milal wa'n-Nihal*. The two manuscripts show a remarkable affinity, which deserves further investigation. Materially they coincide nearly everywhere, and frequently they also agree verbatim. As far as I am able to judge, I am inclined to consider Isfrainî's book an abstract from that of Bagdâdî. The latter displays its genuine character by greater completeness, by personal recollections, by polemical, often quite tolerable, rhymes against the heretics, and the like features. Both manuscripts offer the great advantage of being carefully pointed, which, of course, is of special value in determining the pronunciation of the proper names. But they also contain extremely interesting material, and often supply us with important historical information undoubtedly drawn from old sources. Thus their account on the Sabâiyya offers the fullest and most valuable description of this fundamental sect of Shiism.

The disconnected character of the translated texts, which are derived from various sections of Ibn Hazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal* written at various periods, make it impossible to pursue any definite arrangement or disposition. This inconvenience, however, is removed by means of a detailed index, which enables the reader to lay hand on all the material bearing on the subject in which he is interested. The list of the Alids mentioned in this treatise which is appended at the end will, we expect, be of service to the reader.

* *

Before concluding, I feel obliged to tender the expression of my thanks to all those men and institutions that have been helpful to me in the work embodied in this treatise.

The first and largest share of my gratitude I owe, as always, to my dear master, Professor Theodor Nöldeke, who has, with untiring kindness, bestowed upon me the benefit of his instruction and his friendship. Without his continuous stimulus, furtherance and advice, this work would have never been undertaken or finished.

My heartfelt thanks are furthermore due to Professor Goldziher, not only for his repeated public references to the importance of Ibn Hazm's work and his contributions towards the

appreciation thereof, but also for his great kindness in lending me his copy of the chapter on Shiism, and in giving me, whenever required, his invaluable scholarly advice.

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TRANSLATION.

A. The Heterodox Sects in general.

[Printed Edition (=Ed.) II, pp. 111-117; Codex Leyden (=L.) I, fol. 135^a ff.; Codex British Museum (=Br.) I, fol. 135^a ff.; Codex Vienna (=V.) fol. 201 ff.; Codex Yale (=Y.) I, fol. 137^a ff.]

*In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful!*¹
Says the Fakîh² Abû Muhammed, *‘Alî b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, may Allah be pleased with him³:

Having with the help of Allah finished with the (non-Islamic) religions, let us with the assistance of Allah begin to describe the sects of the Muslims and the difference of opinion among the latter regarding these sects, to expound⁴ the evils which some of them (of the adherents of these sects) concocted against it (i. e. against Islam)⁵ by means of the special errors of their sect, and to set forth the arguments which are indispensable in order to indicate clearly the true sect among these (heterodox) sects, —in the same way as we proceeded in dealing with the religions. *Much praise unto Allah, the Lord of all Created Beings: there is no assistance nor strength except in Allah, the Exalted, the Almighty!⁶

Says Abû Muhammed: Those that adhere to the community of Islam are divided into five⁷ sects: 1) the Sunnites, 2) the

¹ Br. *روبه توفيقى +* V. *وصلّى الله على سيّدنا محمد وآله وصحبه +*.

² Br. V. om.—L. *الفقيه الإمام* “the poor, the Imâm.”

³ Br. V. om.

⁴ Br. V. *جميع* “all.”

⁵ Ed. L. *بها* “against it,” L. V. Y. *بها* “against them.” See Commentary.

⁶ Br. V. om.

⁷ Ed. and Codd. *خمس* (instead of *خمس*) against the grammatical rule.

Mu'tazilites, 3) the Murji'ites, 4) the Shi'ites, and 5) the Khârijites.¹ Each of these sects again is divided into a number of (smaller) sects.

The greatest difference of opinion among the *Sunnites* prevails in questions of religious practice and a few particulars of religious doctrine which will be explained hereafter. As to the other four² sects, enumerated above, there are some among them who differ widely from the Sunnites and others who differ from them but slightly.

Among the sections of the *Murji'ites* the nearest to the Sunnites are those who follow the doctrine of the Faḳīh Abū Ḥanīfa that Faith consists in acknowledging the truth both with the tongue and the heart and that the religious ceremonies are nothing but laws and precepts imposed by Faith. The farthest among them are the adherents of Jahm b. Ṣafwân, 'al-Ash'arî and 'Muhammed b. Karrâm of Sijistân.³ For *Jahm and al-Ash'arî maintain⁴ that Faith only consists in believing with the heart, though one profess with his tongue Unbelief and the doctrine of Trinity [112] and worships the Crucified (Christ) *in the dominions of Islam without fear (i. e. compulsion).⁵ *Muhammed b. Karrâm, on the other hand, maintains⁶ that Faith is only expression with the tongue, though one adhere⁷ to Unbelief in his heart.

Among the sects of the *Mu'tazilites* the nearest to the Sunnites are the followers of *al-Husein b. Muhammed an-Najjâr, Bishr b. Ġiyâth of Marîs (in Egypt), as well as the followers of¹⁰

¹ Br.: 4) Khârijites; 5) Shi'ites.

² Ed. L. Y. incorrectly الأربعة; Br. V. الأربع.

³ Br. V. + أصحاب, "and the adherents of."

⁴ Br. V. + "and the adherents of."

⁵ In Eastern Iran. Br. V. om.

⁶ L. Y. بعض هؤلاء يقولون "some of these maintain." This is a later correction. See Comm.—Instead of يقولون in Ed. read يقولان as in Br. V.

⁷ L. Y. om.

⁸ L. Y. يقولون (acc. after فإن الآخرين "and others maintain.")

⁹ Br. V. واعتقد (V. corrected on the margin وإن اعتقد).

¹⁰ Br. om. through homoioteleuton.

Dirār b. 'Amr. The farthest among them are the followers of Abū'l-Hudeil.¹

Among the schools of the *Shi'ites* the nearest to the Sunnites are those who count themselves among the followers of the Faḳih al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy² of the Banū Hamdān³ who maintain that the Imāmate is confined to the descendants of 'Alī.⁴ It is, however, an established fact that al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ—may Allah have mercy on him!—was of the same opinion as we are, viz., that the Imāmate extends to the whole of the Kureish, and that he maintained a friendly attitude towards all⁵ the Companions (of the Prophet), the only exception being that he gave 'Alī the preference over all of them.⁶ The farthest among them are the Imāmītes.

Among the sects of the *Khārijites* the nearest to the Sunnites are the followers of 'Abdallah b. Yazīd al-Ibādī,⁷ of Kūfa. The farthest among them are the 'Azraqītes.

As to the followers of Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it,⁸ Aḥmad b. Yānūsh,⁹ al-Faḍl of Harrān,¹⁰ the extremists *among the Rawāfiḍ, the Ṣūfi's,¹¹ the Biṭṭīkhīyya,¹² the followers of Abū Ismā'il al-Biṭ-

¹ Ed. misprint الهزبل (with ز).—L. Br. V. + "al-'Allāf." See Comm. —V. the whole passage mutilated واقرب فرق المعتزلة الى اهل السنة واحباب ابى الهذيل العلاف واقرب مذاهب الشيعة الى اهل السنة احباب ضرار بن عمرو وابعدهم احباب ابى الهذيل العلاف.

² L. حنى, Br. V. حنى. See Comm.

³ Ed. incorrectly الهمزاني (with ز); Y. الهمذاني "of Hamādān" (in Persia).

⁴ Codd. + فقط "alone."

⁵ Br. om. See next note.

⁶ V. marginal gloss by another hand وقيل انه كان يفضل على عثمان فقط "It is assumed that he gave him the preference over 'Othmān only."
⁷ Y. الاياضي.

⁸ Ed. Y. حابط, V. حابط (sic), L. حابط, Br. حافظ. See Comm.

⁹ Ed. نابوس, L. مالوس, Y. نابوس, V. نابوس, Br. نابوس. See Comm.

¹⁰ Ed. الحزني.—L. Br. Y. الحزني, V. الحزني.

¹¹ L. Y. Om.

¹² Ed. البطيحي and البطيحيّة with soft ح.

ṭikhî, those of the 'Ajârida who deny the "Ijmâ'" and others, —they do not belong to the Muslims, but are unbelievers in the common opinion of the whole Muhammedan nation. Let us seek refuge in Allah, when we are forsaken !

Exposition of the fundamental tenets of each of these sects, being the characteristics by which they are distinguished.

Says Abû Muhammed: As to the *Murji'ites*, the pillar which they hold fast is the question as to the nature of Faith and Apostasy and the proper application of these terms, and Punishment.¹ Outside of this they differ in their opinions as much as the others.

As to the *Mu'tazilites*, the pillar which they hold fast is the question of Unity and the Divine Attributes. *Some of them also add² the problem of Free Will, the application of the terms Wickedness and Faith, and Punishment. In the question of Divine Attributes the *Mu'tazilites* are joined by Jahm b. Ṣafwân, Mukâtil b. Suleimân, the Ash'arites and other *Murji'ites*, as well as by Hishâm b. al-Hakam, Sheitân at-Tâk—whose proper name was Muhammed b. Ja'far, of Kûfa,³—and Dâwûd al-Hawârî, who are all Shi'ites.⁴ [113] Yet we mentioned this root as a specific characteristic of the *Mu'tazilites*, because those who speculate about it do not (eo ipso) renounce the doctrine of the Sunnites or⁵ that of the *Mu'tazilites*, while the *Murji'ites* and Shi'ites, mentioned above, are discriminated by special teachings which actually stand outside the doctrine of the Sunnites and *Mu'tazilites*.

As to the *Shi'ites*, the pillar of their speculation is the question of the Imâmate and the Degrees of excellence of the Companions of the Prophet. Outside of this they differ as much as the others.

As to the *Khârijites*, the pillar of their school is the question as to the nature of Faith and Apostasy and the proper applica-

¹ Br. واعبد (sic). The original reading possibly was الوعد والوعيد
"Reward and Punishment."

² Br. V. "and."

³ L. Y. om. الكوفي.

⁴ Ed. L. Y. شيعة; Br. V. افضة شيعة.

⁵ L. Y. "and."

tion of these terms, the question of **Punishment**,¹ and the Imâmât. Outside of this they differ as much as the others.

We have set up these topics as characteristic of the parties in question, because he who, e. g., maintains that the religious practices of the body constitute Faith, since² the latter increases through obedience³ (by observing these practices) and decreases through disobedience⁴ (by neglecting them), and that a believer becomes an unbeliever through the least transgression (regarding these practices), or that even he who is a believer both in his heart and⁵ with his tongue may (nevertheless) suffer eternal punishment in hell, is no *Murji'ite*. He, however, who agrees with them on these points, but differs from them in all other matters regarding which the Muslims are divided in their opinions, is a *Murji'ite*.

He who differs from the *Mu'tazilites* regarding the Creation of the Koran, the Beholding (of God on the day of Resurrection), the Anthropomorphisms,⁶ or regarding their opinion that the man who commits a capital sin is neither a believer nor an unbeliever, but (merely) a sinner, does not belong to them. He, however, who agrees with them regarding the above-mentioned points, is one of them, though he differ from them in all other matters regarding which the Muslims are divided in their opinions.

He who agrees with the *Shi'ites* that 'Alî is the most excellent of men after the Prophet and that he and his descendants after him are worthier of the Imâmât than anyone, is a Shi'ite, though he differ from them in all other matters regarding which the Muslims are divided in their opinions. He, however, who differs from them regarding the above-mentioned points, is no Shi'ite.

¹ Ed. erroneously الوعد "Reward." Codd. and previously Ed. الوعيد.

² Ed. L. Br. Y. فَإِنَّ ; V. وَأَنَّ "and that."

³ L. Y. om. بالطاعة.

⁴ L. Y. om. بالمعصية.

⁵ L. Y. "or."

⁶ Ed. correctly والتشبيه lit.: "and the comparing" (of God with created beings).—L. والتسميه, V. والنسيه, Br. Y. والنشيبه.

He who agrees with the *Khârijites* in denying (the right of) appealing to judges and in regarding those that commit capital sins as apostates, also shares with them the belief that rebellion against tyrannical rulers is a religious duty, and that those who commit capital sins suffer eternal punishment in hell, and finally that the Imâmate is also permissible outside of the Kureish, is a Khârijite, though he differ from them in all other matters regarding which the Muslims are divided in their opinions. [If however]¹ he differs from them regarding the above-mentioned points, then he is no Khârijite.

Says Abû Muhammed: As to the adherents of the Sunna, they (alone) are the adherents of truth, while all others are adherents of heresy. For Sunnites were the Companions of the Prophet and the best of the "Followers" who walked in their footsteps, then the masters of the Ḥadîth (Oral Tradition), *the Faḳîhs who succeeded them, generation after generation, until this very day and the bulk of the people who emulated their example in the East and the West of the Earth—the mercy of Allah upon them!²

[114] Says Abû Muhammed: There were, however, people who usurped the name of Islam, though all the sects of Islam agree that they are no Muslims. Thus there were sections among the *Khârijites* who went to the extreme, maintaining that the ṣalât (obligatory prayer) was no more than one "bow" in the morning and one in the evening. Others permitted the marriage with granddaughters and the daughters of nephews. They also maintained that the Joseph Sûra did not belong to the Koran. There were others among them⁴ who maintained that the adulterer and thief ought to be punished, but then be called to repent their apostasy. If they do so, (then well and good); if not, (only then) they ought to be killed.

There were also sections among the *Mu'tazilites* who afterwards went to the extreme and held the belief in the Transmi-

¹ Ed. om. *فإن* through oversight.

² L. only *ومن أتبعهم* "and those that succeeded them."

³ Br. V. om. *فرق*.

⁴ Here begins a lacuna of one leaf in Br. (between fol. 136* and 137*).

gration of Souls. Others among them maintained that the fat and the brain of swine was permitted.

Among the *Murji'ites* there were sections who maintained that Iblis never asked permission from Allah to look (at Adam) and that he never admitted¹ that Allah created him out of fire and Adam out of dust.² Others maintained that prophecy could be attained by right conduct.

There were others among the *Sunnites* who went to the **extreme**,³ maintaining that there were some pious who were superior to prophets and angels, and that he who attained the true knowledge of God was exempt from religious laws and ceremonies. Some of them held the belief that the Creator resides in the bodies of his creatures, like al-Hallāj and others.

There were sections among the *Shi'ites* who afterwards went to the extreme, some of them holding the belief in the divinity of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the Imāms after him. Some of them believed in his [as well as in their]⁴ prophecy, also in the Transmigration of Souls, like the poet as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī and others. One section of them believed in the divinity of Muḥammed b. Abī Zeinab, a client of the Banū Asad. Another section believed in the prophecy of Muḡīra b. Sa'īd, a client of the Banū **Bajīla**,⁵ in the prophecy of Abū Maṣṣūr al-'Ijlī (of the Banū Ijl), of the weaver **Bazig**,⁶ of Bayān⁷ b. Sam'ān, belonging to the Banū Tamīm and the like. Others among them held the belief in 'Alī's re-appearance on earth. They

¹ V. + منذ امتنع من السجود لآدم "when he refused to prostrate himself before Adam." See Comm.

² V + (gap of one word). . . . ولا بأن الله كرم آدم عليه ولا بأن الله "nor that Allah honored Adam more than him, nor that Allah"

³ Ed. erroneously ففعلوا instead of ففعلوا.

⁴ Ed. erroneously om. ونبؤتهم ; V. ونبؤة ولده.

⁵ Ed. and Codd. + Abī. See Comm.

⁶ Ed. بجلة misprint for بجيلة.

⁷ L. برع, Ed. برع, V. بريك (on the margin corrected by another hand برع), Y. برع.

⁸ L. وبنان. See Comm.

refused to believe in the open meaning of the Koran, asserting that the open meaning should be interpreted allegorically. Thus they maintained that "the Sky" was Muhammed and "the Earth"¹ his Companions. (In the verse) "Behold, Allah commandeth you to slaughter a cow"²—"a cow" means N.N., i. e., the Mother of the Faithful. They equally maintained that "Justice" and "Charity"³ referred to 'Alî and that "Jibt" and "Tâgût"⁴ were N.N. and N.N., alluding to Abû Bekr and 'Omar. They similarly maintained that "ṣalât" (obligatory prayer) meant supplication to the Imâm, "zakât" (alms) donations to the Imâm and "ḥajj" (pilgrimage) going to the Imâm. There were among them stranglers and skull-breakers.

None of these sects cares in the least for logical demonstration. The only proof they possess is the claim of inspiration, impudence and the capacity to lie openly. [115] They pay no attention⁵ to any argumentation. But it suffices to refute them by saying: "What is the difference between you and those who claim that they were informed by way of inspiration of the absurdity of your belief?" There is no way to extricate oneself from this (reply). Besides, all the sections of Islam hold themselves aloof from them, regarding them as apostates and unanimously agreeing that their belief is not that of Islam. Let us seek refuge in Allah, when we are forsaken!

Says Abû Muhammed: The reason why most of these sects deserted⁶ the religion⁷ of Islam is, at bottom, this. The Persians originally were the masters of a large kingdom and had the upper hand over all the nations. They were in consequence possessed with such mighty self-esteem⁸ that they called themselves "nobles" and "sons," while the rest of mankind were

¹ Koran XXX, 24.² Koran II, 63.³ Koran XVI, 72.⁴ Koran IV, 54 (the names of two idols).—For "Jibt" Ed. L. erroneously الخبث "abomination."⁵ Ed. يلتفتون; L. Y. يتثقفون ("to be amended"; Lane, s. v.) V. يستعقون.⁶ Read اكثر خروج as in L.—V. Y. om. اكثر "most of."⁷ V. دائرة "the circle."⁸ Ed. الخطير, read الخطر; V. الخطرة.

regarded by them as slaves. But when they were visited (by God) and their empire was taken away from them by the Arabs,—the same Arabs who in the estimation of the Persians possessed the least dignity of all nations,—the matter weighed much more heavily upon them and the calamity assumed double proportions in their eyes, and thus they made up their mind to beguile Islam by attacking it at different periods. But in all this Allah makes Truth come to light. Among their rebels were **Sunbād**,¹ **Ustādsīs**,² al-Muḳanna‘, Bābak and others. **Previous**³ to these appeared with the same intention ‘Ammār, with the nickname Khidāsh,⁴ and Abū **Muslim**⁵ as-Sirāj.⁶ When they saw that to entrap Islam by trickery was more profitable, some of them outwardly professed Islam and won the sympathies of the people with Shi‘itic inclinations, by feigning affection for the members of the prophetic family and by condemning the injustice done to ‘Alī. Thus they led them about on various paths, till at last they carried them away from Islam.

Some people among them lured them into the belief that a man by the name of “al-Mahdī” (the rightly Guided) was to be expected, who was the only one in possession of true⁷ religion, since religion could not be accepted from those “Apostates,”—the companions of the Prophet being accused by them of apostasy. Some went as far as to believe in⁸ the prophecy of those for whom they claimed prophecy, and some of them, as already mentioned, led them astray on the path leading to the belief in

¹ Ed. ستقاد , V. سقاد , L. Y. سنقاد . Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* ii, 362 (quotation from Ibn Ḥazm) شنفاد , Mas‘ūdī, *Murāj ad-Dahab* (vi, 188)

سَنَفَاد.—The correct reading Ṭabarī, *Annales* III, 119.

² Ed. Y. استاسيس , V. استاسين , L. اسنادسيس , Maḳrīzī, *ib.* اشنبس .—The correct reading Ṭab. III, 354.

³ Ed. misprint قبل for قيل .

⁴ Ed. and Maḳrīzī خداهش , Y. خداهش , V. محداس , L. unpointed.

⁵ Ed. misprint سلم .

⁶ V. السراح , Maḳr. السروح . See Comm.

⁷ V. om. حقيقة .

⁸ L. V. Y. + ما ذكرنا من “what we mentioned of.”

incarnation and exemption from religious ceremonies. Some again made fun (of them)¹ by imposing upon them fifty obligatory prayers² every day and night, while others reduced them to seventeen³ obligatory prayers, with fifteen⁴ "bows" in each,—the latter being the opinion of 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith,⁵ before he became a Khârijite of Ṣufritic persuasion. On the same road also went the Jew 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, the Ḥimyarite. For he, too,—Allah curse him!—outwardly professed Islam in order to beguile⁶ its adherents. He also was the main factor in instigating the people against 'Othmân. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib burned certain groups⁷ of them who publicly proclaimed his divinity. From [116] these baneful roots sprang up the Ismailites and Karmatians, two sections who publicly renounce Islam altogether and profess not only the purest Magism but also the doctrine⁸ of **Mazdak**⁹ the Mobad¹⁰ who lived at the time of Anûshirwân b. **Ḳabâd**,¹¹ the king of the Persians, and who advocated the necessity of communism regarding women and property. Says Abû Muhammed: When **they** had brought¹² the people¹³ as far as these two narrow passes, they turned **them**¹⁴ away from Islam, as they pleased,—which in fact was their only intention.

¹ Y. + بهم .

² Here Br. begins again (fol. 137*).

³ Ed. Br. Y. 17; L. V. 19. See Comm.

⁴ Ed. L. incorrectly خمسة عشر; Br. V. خمس عشرة .

⁵ Y. al-Ḥarb. See Comm.

⁶ Ed. ليكيد; Codd. more smoothly ليكيد .

⁷ Br. V. sing.

⁸ V. more explicitly بمذهب . L. Y. ذهب .

⁹ Ed. Y. مردك .

¹⁰ Ed. Y. الموبذ .

¹¹ Ed. قياد , Y. قياد , V. قباد , L. unp.

¹² Ed. بلغ . Codd. correctly بلغوا .

¹³ Y. البائس "the unfortunate one," see next note; V. on the margin + والنساء "and the women."

¹⁴ Ed. L. Y. اخرجوه "him," supporting the reading of Y.; see preceding note.

By Allah, by Allah, ye servants of Allah ! Fear ye Allah in your souls and be not by any means seduced by adherents of unbelief and heterodoxy or by those who embellish their words not with logical proof, but with mere forgeries,¹ who advise (you) contrary to the messages of the Book of your Lord and of the words of your Prophet: for there is no good in anything besides these two. Know ye that the religion of Allah is open, with no hidden² meaning in it, public, with no secret behind it, all of it logical demonstration, with no laxity about it. Suspect ye everyone who calls on you to follow him without proof and everyone who claims for religion secrecy and a hidden meaning, for (all such claims) are nothing but presumptions and lies. Know ye that the Apostle of Allah did not conceal even as much as a single word of the Law, nor did he allow even those who were nearest to him, viz., his wife, daughter, uncle or cousin on his father's side, or any of his companions, as much as a glimpse into anything appertaining to the Law, which he should have kept back from the Red and Black and the humblest shepherds. The Prophet did not keep to himself any secret or allusion or any hidden explanation, besides the message which he brought to the whole of mankind. Had he withheld from them anything, then he would not have delivered (his message)³ as he was commanded. He who holds such an opinion⁴ is an apostate. Be ye on your guard against any opinion whose way is not clear and whose proof is not distinct. **Do** not swerve⁵ in the slightest from the views held by your Prophet and his Companions!

Says Abû Muhammed: We have already set forth the disgraceful tenets of all these sects in a short book of ours, entitled:⁶

¹ Ed. بتمويهات the only correct reading.—L. بهاوب, Br. صاوت, V. بتمانون, Y. تماوت.

² Br. V. باطل “absurd.”

³ Br. V. بلغهم + “to them.”

⁴ Br. V. غير هذا “another opinion.”

⁵ Ed. تعوجًا. Codd. better تعوجوا; Y. تعرجوا in a similar meaning.

⁶ Ed. اسمه.—Codd. رَسْمَه “designated as.”

“The saving advices against the disgusting infamies and pernicious depravities contained in the beliefs of the adherents of heresy among the four sects: the Mū‘tazilites, the Murji‘ites, the Khārijites and the Shi‘ites.” We subsequently appended it at the end of our exposition on the sects in this work.¹

The consummation of all good² is that you should cling to the text which your Lord wrote down³ in the Koran—in Arabic language, making clear, with no negligence whatever as regards clearness, everything—as well as the words which are firmly established as those of your Prophet through the traditions of the reliable authorities⁴ among the Imāms (leaders) of⁵ the masters of the Ḥadīth, *in a chain leading up to the Prophet:⁶ both ways [117] will enable you to attain the satisfaction of your Lord.

We shall forthwith proceed [to discuss]⁷ the topics which are the pillar concerning which the Muslims are divided in their opinions, i. e., Unity, Free Will, Faith, Punishment, the Imāmate and the Degrees of excellence (of the Companions) and then finish with those matters which the Mutakallimūn call “latā‘if” (subtleties). We shall set forth all *the proofs they adduce⁸ and expound with convincing arguments the points of truth in all this,—in the same way as we proceeded previously,⁹ with Allah’s assistance unto us and his support. There is no assistance nor strength except in Allah, the Exalted, the Almighty.

¹ L. Y. om. this sentence. See my essay: “Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm’s *Milal wan-Niḥal*” in *Nöldeke’s Jubelschrift*, i, p. 273.

² Br. V. الخبر “information.”

³ L. Br. V. عليه.—Ed. Y. عليكم is not as good.

⁴ Ed. erroneously spelt الثقة.

⁵ Br. V. om. أئمة.

⁶ L. Y. om.

⁷ Codd. في الكلام (Br. بالكلام). Ed. om. probably owing to homoioteleuton.

⁸ Br. V. احتجّ به كل طائفة منهم “every party of them adduces.”

⁹ Br. V. instead في الملل “with the religions.”

B. The Heterodoxies of the Shi'ites.

[Printed Edition (=Ed.) IV pp. 178-188; Codex Leyden (=L.) II fol. 135^a ff.; Codex British Museum (=Br.) III fol. 87^a ff.; Codex A III fol. 105^a ff.; Cod. Yale (=Y.) III fol. 70^a ff. The variants quoted anonymously are taken from L. and Br. and, if not otherwise stated, are identical in both Codices. The readings of Y. are, if not otherwise stated, identical with those in A. On Codex A and the other codices see Introduction, pp. 17 and 24.]

¹ *Description of "the grave errors" leading to apostasy or absurdity contained in "the views of the adherents of heresy: the Mu'tazilites, the Khārijites, the Murji'ites and the Shi'ites."*

Says Abu Muhammed:⁴ We have already described in this work the infamies of the religions opposed to Islam [and the lies]⁵ which are found in their Scriptures, viz., those of the Jews, Christians and Magicians, besides which nothing remains⁶ for them,⁷ so that nobody who becomes acquainted with them (their Scriptures)⁸ will doubt that those people are engrossed in error. Now let us proceed with these four sects and describe their detestable tenets so that this work may render clear to every reader that they are engrossed in error and absurdity, and may thus prevent those whom Allah wishes to guide the right

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله +
 (Br. وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليما). See "Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wan-Nihāl," p. 272, n. 2.

² الشُّنْع "the depravities."

³ "the heresies of the بدع الرافضة والخوارج والمعتزلة والمرجئة" Rawāfiq, the Khārijites, the Mu'tazilites and the Murji'ites." See "Zur Komposition, etc." p. 274, n. 1. See Comm.

⁴ Y. (also later) + رضى.

⁵ Ed. Y. om. والكذب which is indispensable.

⁶ Ed. Y. بقية; L. Br. بينة "proof." See Commentary.

⁷ والحمد لله رب العالمين + "Praise unto Allah, the Lord of all Created Beings!"—also مآلا instead of ولا.

⁸ عليه "with it."

way from joining them or from continuing [to be]¹ with them. There is no assistance nor strength except in Allah the Exalted, the Almighty.

We wish, however, the reader of this our book² to understand that we do not consider permissible—as do those in whom there is no good—to quote in anyone's³ name any statement which he⁴ did not make verbatim, though the (general) view (conveyed by the quotation) may go back to him (the quoted person). For the latter may not always cling to the consequences following from⁵ his (general) view and thus a contradiction may appear (between the quotation and the actual opinions of the quoted writer). You must know that quoting in anyone's name—be he an infidel, a heretic or a (mere) sinner—a statement which he did not make verbatim is equal to telling lies about him, and lying is not allowed against anybody. ⁶On the other hand, they sometimes hide detestable ideas behind ambiguous expressions, so as to make them more attractive to ignorant people and to those of their followers **who think well of them**⁷ and to make it difficult for the bulk [179] of their opponents⁸ to grasp⁹ (the full significance of) the heresy in question. Thus when certain sections among the adherents of

¹ Ed. om. *على الكون*.

² *كلامنا* "our words."

³ *من خصومنا* + "anyone of our opponents."

⁴ *نقله* "we" which makes no sense.

⁵ *نخج* II conclure, tirer des conséquences (Dozy). Cf. also I. Friedlaender, *Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides I* (1902) sub voce.—Y. *يبيح* "permitted by."

⁶ L. + "He says"; Br. + "Says Abû Muhammed."

⁷ I follow the reading of L. Br. *وعلى من أحسن الظن بهم*. —Ed. Y. *ويحسن النظر بهم* is against the construction, both of the phrase and the verb (*نظر* in this meaning being followed by *في*).

⁸ *مخالفاتهم*. —Ed. Y. incorrectly *مخالفهم*.

⁹ Om. *فهم*.

heterodoxy and fallacy¹ say²: God cannot be described as having the power to do something absurd, or unjust, or false,³ or anything of which he does not know beforehand that it will happen,⁴ they (deliberately) conceal the gravest heresy in this proposition, in order to mollify⁵ the illiterate among their adherents⁶ and appease the crowd of their opponents. (They do so), because they are afraid of openly declaring⁷ their belief which in fact means that the Almighty has no power over injustice, nor strength over falsehood, nor might over absurdity. We are necessarily compelled to disclose forgeries of this kind and expose them in the clearest possible terms. We thus hope to get near Allah by rending asunder their veils and disclosing their secrets.⁸ "Allah is sufficient for us. He is an excellent Protector!"⁹

Description of the Depravities of the Shi'ites.

Says Abû Muhammed : The adherents of depravities (heterodoxies) belonging to this sect are divided into three sections.

I. The first of them is the *Jârâdiyya*, a part of the *Zeidiyya*.

II. Then the *Imâmiyya*, belonging to the *Rawâfid*, and finally

III. the *Extremists*.

¹ المُكْدِين في دين الله عزّ وجلّ "those who go astray from the religion of Allah."

² + أن "since" which makes no sense. It is probably to be corrected in أن "that."

³ ولا على الدّعاء إلى الباطل "or to call (mankind) to anything nonsensical."

⁴ يفعل "that he will do it."

⁵ ي. تاييس (L. Br. unpointed) "to bring into despair" which makes no sense.

⁶ + ومقلديهم "and their imitators."

⁷ خُبث "the ugliness of,"

⁸ وتنفير الناس عن ضلالتهم "and to make people flee from their fallacy."

⁹ Koran III, 167.

I. As to the *Jārādiyya*, a part of them believed in Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥasan b. **al-Ḥasan** b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the same² who rose in Medina against Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. The latter dispatched against him³ 'Īsa b. Mūsa b. Muhammed *b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallah' b. al-'Abbās, who killed Muhammed b. 'Abdallah *b. al-Ḥasan, Allah have mercy on him!⁴ This section then believed that the said Muhammed was alive,⁵ that he was never killed, that he never died⁷ nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity. Another section of them believed in Yahya b. 'Omar *b. Yahya⁸ b. al-Ḥusein⁹ b. Zeid d. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusein b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who rose in Kufa *in the days of¹⁰ al-Musta'in. Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusein b. **Muṣ'ab**, the wālī of Bagdad for al-Musta'in, dispatched against him the son of his paternal uncle al-Ḥusein b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. **Muṣ'ab**, the nephew of Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm b. **Muṣ'ab**,¹¹ who killed Yahya b. 'Omar, Allah have mercy on him! The said section then believed that this Yahya b. 'Omar was alive,¹² that he was never killed, *that he never died¹³ nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity.—

¹ Ed. and Codd. al-Ḥusein.² هو.³ ابن أخيه "the son of his brother."⁴ Om.⁵ Om.⁶ الى اليوم + "until this day."⁷ وانه حتى بالحاجر من جبل رَضوى + "and that he lived in Ḥājir in the mountain of Raḍwā."⁸ Om.⁹ Al-Ḥasan.¹⁰ على "against" instead of اَيَّام (also later).¹¹ I follow the reading of L. Br. ابن مصعب والى بغداد للمستعين.

ابن عمّه الحسين بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم بن مصعب وهو ابن بأمر المستعين.—Ed. Y. اخى السحاق بن ابراهيم بن مصعب بن عمّه (sic) الحسن بن اسماعيل بن الحسين وهو ابن اخى طاهر بن الحسين "by order of al-Musta'in the son of his paternal uncle (read عمّه) al-Ḥasan (sic) b. Ismā'il b. al-Ḥusein, the son of the brother of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusein." See Comm.

¹² الى اليوم + "until this day."¹³ Om.

Another section believed that Muhammed b. al-Kâsim b. 'Alî b. 'Omar b. 'Alî b. al-Husein b. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, who rose in Tâlikân¹ in the days of al-Mu'tasim, was alive, that he never died, *nor was ever killed² nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity.

The *Keisâniyya*, the followers [of Keisân Abû 'Omra, one of the followers]³ of al-Mukhtâr b. Abî 'Ubeid⁴—they are in our opinion a branch⁵ of the Zeidiyya in their tendency⁶—that Muhammed b. Alî b. Abî Tâlib—i. e., Ibn al-Hanafiyya—was (still) alive in the mountains⁷ of Raḡwâ, having on his right a lion and on his left a leopard, conversing with angels, his sustenance coming to him in the morning and in the evening, that he never died, nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity.

II. *Some of the Imâmitic Rawâfiḍ—I refer to the sect⁸ called al-*Mamṭara*—believed that Mûsâ b. Ja'far b. Muhammed b. 'Alî b. al-Husein b. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib was alive, that he never died [180] nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity. Another group of them, viz, the *Nâwusiyya*, the followers of⁹ Nâwus¹⁰ of Baṣra,¹¹ believed *the same of his father Ja'far b. Muhammed.¹² Another group believed

¹ + من بلاد خراسان “in the lands of Khorâsân.” ² Om.

³ Supplied from L. Br. كيسان ابى عمرة وكان من احباب. Ed. Y. om. through homoioteleuton.

⁴ + الثقفى “of the Banû Takîfa.”

⁵ Ed. correctly شعبة, Br. شعبة, L. شعبة.

⁶ Lit.: “path.”—L. Br. سبلهم plural.

⁷ Sing.

⁸ Merely فرقة من الرافضة “a section of the Rawâfiḍ.” See Introduction, pp. 22 and 23.

⁹ L. Br. A. + Ibn.

¹⁰ اوس.

¹¹ Ed. Y. المصرى “from Egypt.” See Comm.

¹² ان جعفر بن محمد بن على بن الحسين بن على بن ابى طالب حتى لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يملأ الارض عدلا كما ملئت جورا “that Ja'far b. Muh. b. 'Alî b. al-Hus. b. 'Alî b. A. T. was alive, that he never died nor will ever die until, etc.” The same elaborate formula instead of مثل also later.

the same of his brother Ismâ'il b. Ja'far. The **Sabâ'iyya**,¹ the followers of the Jew² 'Abdallah ibn Sabâ the Himyarite, believed the same of 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, adding³ that he was in the clouds. But I wish I knew in what particular cloud he is to be found, there being so many clouds in the different zones of the earth "that are compelled to do service between heaven and earth," as Allah the Almighty said.⁴ *The said 'Abdallah ibn Sabâ, having received the news of 'Alî's murder,⁵ expressed himself in these terms: "Even if you had brought us his brains **in seventy bags**,⁶ we would not be convinced of his death. He will surely not die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity." Some of the Keisâniyya *believed that Abû Muslim as-Sirâj was alive and has not died, and that he will undoubtedly appear again. Others of the Keisâniyya⁷ believed that 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far b. Abî Tâlib was alive in the mountains of Işbahân until this day and will undoubtedly appear again. This 'Abdallah is the same who rose in Fâris in the days of Merwân b. Muhammed and was killed by Abû Muslim, after the latter had kept him in prison for a long time.⁸ This 'Abdallah held detestable⁹ opinions in religious matters, being a Nihilist and seeking the company of the Dahriyya.

¹ Ed. Y. Sabâbiyya. Br. unpointed; L. as above. See Comm.

² فكان يهوديا فأظهر الإسلام "he was a Jew but outwardly professed Islam." Cf. p. 37.

³ وقالوا, "maintaining."

⁴ Koran II, 159.

⁵ ولما قيل لابن سبا ان ورد قتل علي رضي الله عنه قد مات علي "When it was said to Ibn Sabâ, after the murder of 'Alî had taken place: 'Alî has died."

⁶ I follow the reading of A. في سبعين ضربة, see Comm. Ed. Y. سبعين مرة "70 times." L. Br. ضربة (Br. unp.) "70 blows" which makes no sense.

⁷ L. om. through homoioteleuton.

⁸ مدة "a while."

⁹ فاسد "corrupt."

Says Abû Muhammed: These people only follow in the footsteps of the Jews who believe that *Malkizedek [b. Fâlig] b. 'Âbir [b. Shâlih] b. Arphakhshad b. Sâm b. Nûh¹ and the servant whom Ibrâhîm dispatched to woo Ribkâ,² the daughter of Bethu'al³ b. Nâkhûr⁴ b. Târikh for his son Ishâk, and Ilyâs (Elijah) and Phinhâs b. Al'âzâr⁵ b. Hârûn are alive until this day.⁶ The same direction is also taken by some silly⁷ Şûfis, who affirm that Ilyâs and al-Khaḍîr are both alive until this day, some of them even claiming that they⁸ met Ilyâs in deserts⁹ and al-Khaḍîr on lanes and meadows,¹⁰ and that the latter, whenever called, instantly appears¹¹ before the man who has called him.

Says Abû Muhammed: How does al-Khaḍîr accomplish it, *if he is called in the East, the West, the North and the South¹² and¹³

¹ Ed. Y. ملكيصادق بن عامر (عابر Y.) بن ارفخشذ الح. — L. Br. also add Methusalem, but the reading is corrupt: متوشايح. بن خنوخ وان العبد مليك صدق (ملكيصدق Br.) بن عامر — On the readings adopted in the text see Commentary.

² Ed. Y. ريقا, L. Br. ريعا.

³ Ed. Y. بنؤال.

⁴ ابور.

⁵ Algâzâr.

⁶ "on earth, but it is not known where they are." في الدنيا ولا يدرون اين هم +

⁷ Ed. Y. تركي makes no sense. L. Br. نوكي (L. under it in tiny letters أنوك plural of the elativ نوكي = احمق وعقلنس).

⁸ Ed. Y. singular (انه يلقي), taking the preceding بعض as "one." The singular, however, contradicts the statement in the next paragraph.

⁹ "lonely (deserts) and met." الوحشة ويلقون

¹⁰ "in which there are wells and rivers." التي فيها العيون والانهار + (Br. om. والانهار).

¹¹ Br. خطر "presents himself."

¹² "if the people call him إن ذكره ذاكرون معاً في أقصى الشرق" simultaneously in the extreme East, etc." أقصى added to each direction.

¹³ Om.

in thousand different places in the same instant? (Yet) we met several people¹ who held this belief, among them [Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. Salâm al-Anṣarî]² known as Shukḥ al-Leil, traditionist³ in Ṭalabîra, who *in spite of it⁴ belongs to the influential circles and masters* a great amount of traditions;⁵ among them also the Kâtib Muhammed b. 'Abdallah, who told me that he *many times⁶ sat with al-Khadhir and conversed with him, and many others. (They believe) all this, despite their knowing the saying of Allah: "But (he is) the Apostle of Allah and the seal of the prophets,"⁷ and the words of the Apostle of Allah: "There is no prophet after me."⁸ How then can a Muslim think it permissible⁹ to assume [after this that]¹⁰ there is a prophet on earth after Muhammed, with the exception, stipulated by the Apostle of Allah, of the miracles which, according to reliable tradition, are certain to take place in connexion with 'Isa b. Maryam's advent at the end of Time?

The heretics of [181] Baraġwâṭah expect *until this day¹¹ Ṣâliḥ b. Ṭarîf, who instituted for them their religion.¹²

*The *Kittî'iyya*, of the Imâmitic Rawâfiḍ—they constitute the bulk of the Shi'ites, and to them belong the dogmatists and thinkers as well as the large numbers (of the Shi'ites)—all believe¹³ that Muhammed b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alî b. Muhammed *b. 'Alî¹⁴ b. Mâsa b. Ja'far [b. Muhammed]¹⁵ b. 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein b.

¹ جماعة "a large number."

² Ed. Y. om. Supplied from L. Br.

³ Om.

⁴ Om.

⁵ Only الرواية .

⁶ Om.

⁷ Koran XXXIII, 40.

⁸ L. gives a long marginal gloss, on which see Comm.

⁹ يستخير (Br. unp.) "ask," which makes no sense.

¹⁰ بعد هذا ان Ed. Y. om. owing to homoioteleuton. ¹¹ Om.

¹² الى أن قطع الله آثارهم جملةً في وقتنا هذا ولله الحمد

"Until Allah stamped out their vestiges altogether in our own time. Praise unto Allah!" See Comm.

¹³ Differently worded وقالت القطيعية كلها وهم من الامامية من

All the K. الرافضة اليوم وفيهم متكلموهم ونظاروهم وعمدتهم

—they now belong to the Imâmiyya of the Rawâfiḍ and among them are their dogmatists and thinkers as well as their center of gravity—believe."

¹⁴ Om.

¹⁵ Ed. Y. om.

'Alī b. Abī Tālib is alive, that he never died nor will ever die until he will appear and fill the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity. He is in their opinion the Mahdī, the Expected.¹ A section of them **maintains**² that *the birth of this one who (in reality) was never created took place³ in the year 260—*the year when his father died.⁴ Another section, however, maintains that he was born some time after his father's death. Still another section maintains that he was, on the contrary, born during the lifetime of his father. They report this in the name of Hukeima,⁵ the daughter of Muhammed b. 'Alī b. Mūsa.⁶ *(They also report) that she was present at his birth and heard him speak and recite the Koran the moment he fell out of the womb of his mother, and that his mother was Narjis and that she herself (Hukeima) was his nurse.⁷ The majority⁸ of them, however, say that his mother was Ṣaḳīl and a part of them say that his mother was Sausan. "But all this is humbug,¹⁰ for the above-mentioned al-Ḥasan left no children,¹¹ neither male nor female. Such is the first folly¹² of the Shi'ites and the key to

¹ المنتظر المهدي .

² Ed. misprint وبقول .

³ مولده "his birthdate (was)."

⁴ وهو عام موت الذي تذكره (ذكره, L. منكره) انه ابوه وهو
 "This is the year of death of him whom (that section) mentions as being (Br. whom we deny to be) his father. He is the last of their Imāms."

⁵ ورووا في ذلك خرافة "they report about this a silly story."—Instead of حكيمة there is a blank both in L. and Br.

⁶ أخت علي وعمّة الحسن المذكور + "the sister of 'Alī and the aunt of the above-mentioned al-Ḥasan."

وذكرت انها كانت قابله وانها سمعته حين ولد تتكلم وقرأ⁷
 وانها كانت هي .—Ed. Y. آيات من القرآن وان امه نرجس
 . وانها هي كانت .

⁸ طائفة "a part."

⁹ + Says Abū Muḥammed.

¹⁰ كذب موضوع "fabricated lie."

¹¹ اصلاً "at all."

¹² قول "belief."

their grave errors¹ of which this one is the least grave, though (sufficient) to lead to perdition.

All these,² **when**³ asked to prove what they say, reply : Our proof is Inspiration, and he who contradicts us is of illegitimate birth. "This is **strange**" indeed ! I wish I knew the difference between them and the **opposite attitude**⁴ of those who claim Inspiration while proving the absurdity of their assumptions and (maintaining) that the Shi'ites⁵ are of illegitimate birth⁶, or that they are idiots⁷, or that they all have forking projections¹⁰ on their heads. *What would they say of one who had belonged to them but then went over to the others, or one who had belonged to the others and then went over to them ? Do you believe that he is transferred¹¹ from an illegitimate birth

¹ عجائبهم which evidently stands for عجائبهم "their curiosities."

² ومن عجائبهم انهم . . . الحجة في ذلك كله قالوا .

³ Ed. and Codd. ان "since." Read اذا .

⁴ + Says Abû Muhammed.

⁵ Ed. and Codd. طريقا . I read طريقا "strange" (Lane).

⁶ Ed. Y. عيار from عير III "to equalize, adjust," which conveys no proper sense. L. عباد (Br. uncertain). I read عناد from عند III "to oppose, contradict."

⁷ الرافضة .

⁸ Ed. رشدة.—Read لرشدة as in Br. Y.—L. الرشدة .

⁹ Ed. ذوكة which is perhaps to be read ذوكي, comp. p. 46, note 7. Instead of ذوكة انهم او انهم ذوكة the Codices have اولهم عن

وانهم كلهم اولهم عن "and that all of them, from the first to the last, ineunt mulieres in latrinis suis." Ed. no doubt intentionally omitted.

¹⁰ Ed. من جنون.—ذو شعب من جنون ; L. Br. ذو شعب "of madness," om. in all Codices and is most probably a gloss. See Comm.

¹¹ Differently worded ثم نقول لكم ما قولكم فيمن كان منكم ثم خرج عن دينكم وصار في سائر فرق المسلمين او فيمن كان مخالفا لكم ثم دخل في دينكم اتراهما ينتقلان .

to a legitimate one or from a legitimate birth to an illegitimate one? Should they say: his case¹ depends on his condition at his death, then one² ought to reply to them: (If so), then perhaps *you*³ are of illegitimate birth, since it is not impossible that you will all one by one return to the reverse of what you believe today. Surely, they all are people of foul opinions, of weak minds and of no shame.⁴ Let us seek refuge in Allah *from Error.⁵

‘Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhiz—one of those frivolous men who are mastered by the desire for a joke, and one of those who lead into error,⁶ yet one, as we found, who in his books never sets forth a lie deliberately and assertively, though he often enough sets forth the lies of others—(al-Jāhiz) narrates the following: Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm⁷ an-Nazzām and Bishr b. Khālīd⁸ told me that they once said to Muhammed b. Ja‘far the Rāfiḍite, known as Sheitān at-Tāk: *‘‘Woe unto thee!’’ Art thou not ashamed *before Allah¹⁰ of what thou hast asserted in thy book on ‘‘the Imāmate’’ that Allah never said in the Koran: ‘The second of two: when they were both in the cave, when he said unto his companion: Be not grieved, for Allah is with us!’¹¹?’’ They both continue to narrate: ‘‘By Allah, Sheitān at-Tāk thereupon

¹ انما + ‘‘surely.’’

² قلنا ‘‘we.’’

³ كلکم ‘‘all.’’

⁴ بالجملة + ‘‘whatever.’’

⁵ مما ابتلاهم به ‘‘from that with which he tempted them.’’

⁶ Ed. misprint الضلال المضلين instead of the reverse.—Y. + قال
الله تعالى ولا تَمْشِ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَرَحًا
in the land’’ (Koran XVII, 39). This is evidently the gloss of a reader.

⁷ Om.

⁸ وهو ايضا من وجوه المعتزلة ‘‘he also was one of the leaders of
the Mu‘tazilites.’’

⁹ Om.

¹⁰ اما اتقيت الله عز وجل ‘‘doest thou not fear Allah?’’

¹¹ Koran IX, 40.

broke forth into a¹ long laughter so that² (we felt) as had *we* been the evildoers." An-Nazzâm narrates: "We often spoke with³ 'Alî b. Mîṭâm' as-Ṣâbûnî (the soapboiler)—he was one of the doctors of the Rawâfiḍ and one of their dogmatists—and we would occasionally ask him [for some information, which he would give us. When we asked him]:⁴ 'Is it (i. e., your information) an opinion (of your own) or an oral information' (coming) from the Imâms?" he would deny that he gave it of his own opinion. We then reminded him⁵ of what he had said about the same thing on a previous [182] occasion." He (an-Nazzâm) continues: "By Allah, I never saw him blush for it or feel ashamed of having done it."

One of the tenets of the Imâmîtes—both ancient and modern—is that the Koran was interpolated by adding passages that were not in it, by removing a great number (of verses) from it and altering a great number (of verses) in it. The only exception is 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein⁶ b. Mûsa *b. Muhammed¹⁰ b. Ibrâhîm b. Mûsa b. Ja'far b. Muhammed b. 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein¹¹ b. 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib, who was¹² an Imâmîte, yet at the same time openly declared his schism (in this question). He always denied this belief *and declared those who entertained it apostates.¹³ Of the same opinion (with him) were his two followers Abû Ya'la'¹⁴

¹ عَائِرًا "sudden, unexpected." Originally said of an arrow of which the shooter is not known. See Lane s.v.

² خَلْنَا نَحْنُ وَكَانُوا "we had to blush and."

³ كَانَ يَكَلِّمُنَا "('Alî b. Mîṭâm) often spoke with us."

⁴ Ed. Y. مِيتَم, Br. مَتَبِم, L. unp.—See Comm.

⁵ Ed. Y. om. مَسْئَلَةً فَيَجِيبُ فَنَسَأَلُهُ owing to homoioteleuton.

⁶ رَايَةً "oral tradition." ⁷ Sing.

⁸ Ed. misprint فَتَخْبِرُهُ.

⁹ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

¹⁰ Om.

¹¹ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

¹² مِنْ رُؤَسَاءِ الْإِمَامِيَّةِ وَمَتَكَلِّمِيهِمْ وَكَانَ مَعَ ذَلِكَ يَظَاهِرُ وَيُجَاهِرُ بِالْإِعْتِرَالِ "one of the heads of the Imâmîtes and one of their dogmatists. Yet, at the same time he openly and publicly declared his schism."

¹³ Only وَيَكْفُرُ مِنْ قَالَ بِهِ which is probably a mistake for وَيَكْفُرُ بِهِ.

¹⁴ Ed. Y. L. يَعْلَى.—Br. عَلَى is probably a correction.

Sabalân (?)¹ of Tûs and Abû'l-Kâsim ar-Râzî (of Rai-Teheran). Says Abû Muhammed: The belief that there are interpolations between the two covers (of the Koran) is pure² apostasy and³ equal to declaring the Apostle of Allah a liar.

A section of the *Keisâniyya* believed in the Transmigration of Souls and this belief was upheld by the poet as-Sayyid al-Himyari, Allah curse him! Those who believed in it were so possessed with this idea⁴ that one of them would take a mule or a donkey and hit it and torture it and withhold from it drink and food, on the ground that it bears the spirit of Abû Bekr and 'Omar.⁵ Marvel at this folly,⁶ which has no parallel to it! 'For by what right has this miserable mule or unlucky donkey been distinguished by transferring to it the spirit (of Abû Bekr and 'Omar), more than all other mules and donkeys? They do the same thing to a she-goat, on the ground that she bears the spirit of the Mother of the Faithful.

⁷The bulk of their⁸ dogmatists like Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam of Kûfa,¹⁰ his pupil¹¹ Abû 'Alî **ash-Shakkâk**¹² and others maintain that God's knowledge is created and that he knew nothing until he created knowledge for himself:—¹³this is pure apostasy.¹⁴

¹ L. سبلان, Br. unp. Ed. Y. ميلاد. See Comm.

² صريح "unadulterated" (the same variant also later).

³ لأنه "because it is."

⁴ Ed. Y. ولقد بلغ الجنون بمن يذهب ; L. Br. ولقد بلغ الجنون بمن يذهب
يذهب "frenzy."

⁵ + or 'Othmân. See Comm.

⁶ لهذه الرعونة . . . لها

⁷ يا ليت شعري ما + "I wish I knew."

⁸ + Says Abû Muhammed.

⁹ + الأول "early."

¹⁰ + مولى بني أسد "a client of the Banû Asad."

¹¹ Om.

¹² Ed. Y. الصكاك . L. Br. الشكاك (sic). See Comm.

¹³ + Says Abû Muhammed.

¹⁴ تجهيل لله عز وجل (L. om.) لأنه "because it means to declare God ignorant."

The same Hishâm, when once arguing with Abû'l-Hudeil al-'Allâf,¹ declared that² his Lord was seven spans (measured) by his own spans:—this is pure apostasy.³ Dâwud al-Hawârî⁴—one of their greatest dogmatists, asserted that his Lord was flesh and blood (and) of human shape.

They unanimously hold that the sun was turned back twice for 'Alî. Is there more stiffness of face⁵, hardness of cheek,⁶ lack of shame⁷ and courage *to lie?⁸ (And all this) despite the nearness of age⁹ and the multitude of people.

¹⁰A section of them maintains that God sometimes wants a thing and decides upon it; then something occurs to him and he leaves it undone. This view is known as that of the Keisâniyya.

¹¹Among the Imâmities there are some who permit *to marry¹² nine wives. Others forbid¹³ cabbage¹⁴, on the ground that it only grew from the blood of al-Husein, and had never existed before.

¹⁵This assertion resembles in its small amount¹⁶ of shame the previous one. *In the same way¹⁷ many of them asserted that 'Alî *never had a namesake before him.¹⁸ But this is frightful ignorance. On the contrary, there were *many among the Arabs¹⁹

¹ + “in Mekka.”

² + طول “the length of.”

³ لأنه استهزاء بالله عز وجل “because it means ridiculing God.”

⁴ Ed. الجوارى ; Codd. الجوارى .

⁵ Plural.

⁶ Plural.

⁷ الحياة “life,” which makes no sense.

⁸ على المباهطة لجميع اهل الارض بالكذب “to stupefy all the people of the earth with lies.”

⁹ + من كان في ذلك العصر “to those who lived in that generation.”
—L. Br. om. وكثرة الخلق.

¹⁰ L. Br. om. the whole paragraph. ¹¹ + “Says Abû Muhammed.”

¹² Om.

¹³ + أكل “the eating of.”

¹⁴ Erroneously الارنب “hare.”

¹⁵ + Says Abû Muhammed.

¹⁶ عدم “lack” (of shame).

¹⁷ Om.

¹⁸ لم يُسم هذا الاسم احدا (sic) قبله .

¹⁹ جماعة في الجاهلية “a large number at the time of Ignorance.”

who were called by this name, like 'Alî b. Bekr b. Wâ'il, to whom every Bekrite in the world traces his origin.¹ *There was an 'Alî among the Azd and an 'Alî among the Bajîla as well as in other (tribes). Every one of these was well-known in the time of Ignorance.² Nearer than³ this was 'Âmir b. aṭ-Ṭufail with the Kunya Abû 'Alî.

Their public assertions⁴ are, however, more numerous than those mentioned.

There is a section among them maintaining that Paradise and Hell will decay. On the other hand, there are some among the Keisâniyya who maintain that this world⁵ will never decay.

There was one section among them called al-Bajaliyya⁶ [183] tracing its origin to *al-Ḥasan b.⁷ 'Alî b. Warṣand al-Bajalî.⁸ He belonged to the people of Nafta,⁹ of the district of Kaḥṣa¹⁰ in Kaṣtîliya,¹¹ of the lands of Ifrikiya. Then this infidel started for as-Sûs at the extreme end of the lands of the Maṣâmida, whom he led astray, also leading astray the Amîr of as-Sûs Aḥmad b. Idrîs b. Yahya b. Idrîs b. 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥasan¹² b. al-Ḥasan¹³ b. 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib. They are very numerous

¹ Om. حاشى بنى يشكر بن بكر فقط + . فى نسبه . See Comm.

² L. Br. instead : وعلى بن جسر بن حارب بن خصفة (Codd. حفصة) ابن مازن بن ذئب كان اخا عبد مناة من كنانة وحسن ولد اخيه فنسبوا اليه وكانوا يعرفون فى الجاهلية ببني على وفى بحيلة ايضا وغيرها . See Comm.

³ Om. من : "the nearest."

⁴ ومجاهرات الرافضة "the publ. ass. of the Rawâfiḍ."

⁵ L. الجنة "Paradise."—Br. as Ed. الدنيا.

⁶ Ed. الكليلة , Y. النخيلة , L. الحبلية , A. الكليلة , Br. الكليلة . See Comm.

⁷ Om.

⁸ Ed. النخلى , Y. البلى ; L. Br. unsp.

⁹ A. نقطة ; L. Br. unsp. ¹⁰ Br. نغصه .

¹¹ Om. Ed. Y. قسطنطينية .—I read قسطنطينية in K. "Kaḥṣa in K."

¹² Ed. Y. al-Ḥusein.

¹³ L. Br. al-Ḥusein.

there, dwelling in the environments of the city of as-Sûs, openly professing their unbelief. Their prayers are different from those of the Muslims. They eat no fruit whatever whose root has been manured. They maintain that the Imâmate is confined to the descendants of al-Hasan, *to the exclusion of the descendants of al-Husein.¹

To them also belonged the followers of *Abû Kâmil*. . One of their beliefs was that all the Companions became apostates after the death of the Prophet by disclaiming the Imâmate of 'Alî, and that the latter, too, became an apostate by conceding the rule first to Abû Bekr, then to 'Omar, then to 'Othmân. The bulk of them, however, add that 'Alî and those that followed him returned to Islam, having asserted his rights *after the death of 'Othmân², by uncovering³ his face and unsheathing⁴ his sword, while before this they had drifted away from Islam and had become apostates and polytheists. Among them there were also some who put the whole blame in this matter on the Prophet, because he did not explain the question in a manner removing all doubt. Says Abû Muhammed: All this is pure apostasy and no hiding of it is possible.

These are the doctrines⁵ of the Imâmites, who among the sects of the Shi'a are *moderate as regards⁶ "Extremism."

III. As to the *Extremists* among the Shi'ites, they are divided into two parties: 1. one attributing prophecy after the Prophet to some other person,⁷ 2. the other attributing divinity to anyone beside Allah, thus joining the Christians and the Jews⁸ and betraying religion in a most detestable manner.

¹ Merely *خاصة* "alone" + *بلغنا الآن انّ عبد الله بن ياسين* "We have now been told that 'Abdallah b. Yâsin al-Muṭṭawwi' (the Devout, see Lane and Dozy s.v.)—Allah have mercy on him—destroyed them completely."

² Om.

³ *وانكشف* instead of *واذكشف*.

⁴ L. *سيل*, which makes no sense.

⁵ *شنع* "the depravities."

⁶ *المتأخرة عن* "keeping back from."

⁷ Om. *لغيره*; + *فخرجوا عن الاسلام* "thus deserting Islam."

⁸ Instead of "the Jews"; *وسائر الكفار* "and the rest of the Infidels."

1. The party which admits *prophecy* after the Prophet is divided into various sects.

To these belonged the *Gurābiyya*.¹ Their opinion was that Muhammed resembled 'Alī more closely than one raven the other and that Allah had dispatched Jibrīl with a revelation² to 'Alī, but Jibrīl mistook Muhammed for him.³ Yet⁴ Jibrīl is not to be blamed as he (only) made a mistake.⁵ There was, however, a section among them who said that Jibrīl did it purposely and they declared him an apostate and cursed him, may Allah curse them!—Says Abū Muhammed: Did anyone ever hear of more weak-minded people and more finished idiots than these here⁶ who assume that Muhammed resembled 'Alī? For Heaven's sake! *How could there exist a resemblance between a man of forty and a boy of eleven years, so that Jibrīl should have mistaken him?⁷ Besides, Muhammed was⁸ above middle-size (tending) towards tallness,⁹ erect¹⁰ like a spear, with a thick beard, **big black**¹¹ eyes, full thighs, with little hair on his body, but rich

¹ L. الغانية , Br. العانية .

² “والرسالة” and a message.”

³ Instead of **فَأَنى إِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ** more explicitly **فَأَنى إِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ** more explicitly to M.”

⁴ “ثم اختلفوا فقالت فرقة +” then they disagreed and a section of them said”; this is probably the correct reading.

⁵ “by reason of the strong resemblance between Muhammed and 'Alī.” لشدة شبه (تشبه Br. محمد بعلى +

⁶ قوم قولهم instead of قوم .

كيف يُشبهه شبها يغلط فيه أتم الناس كلها ابن أربعين سنة⁷ صبيا ابن عشر سنين فكيف ان يغلط في ذلك أفضل خلق الله
How could a man of forty bear so strong a resemblance to a boy of *ten* that the most perfect of all men should err therein? How much less could err in such a thing the most excellent of Allah's creatures and the most perfect of them, as regards discrimination and virtue!”—“The most perfect of all men,” which can only refer to the Prophet, does not convey a proper sense in this connection.

⁸ حينئذ + “then.”

⁹ “(إلى الطول) أقرب +” nearer ” (to tallness).

¹⁰ L. مدم , Br. مدم .

¹¹ Ed. Y. ادعج without sense.—L. Br. ادعج as translated.

curls.¹ 'Ali on the contrary was² below middle size, (tending) towards shortness,³ stooping frightfully, as though he had been broken and then reset, *with a mighty beard which covered his chest⁴ from one shoulderbone to the other, *when he had become bearded,⁵ with heavy eyes,⁶ with thin thighs, [184] mightily⁷ bald, with no hair on his head *except a tiny bit in the back of it,⁸ but with much hair on his **body**.⁹ Marvel at the silliness¹⁰ of this pack.¹¹ For even granted that Jibril made a mistake—though far be it from the faithful¹² Holy Spirit¹³,—how could Allah have neglected *to rectify and¹⁴ to enlighten him and (how could he) have allowed him to abide¹⁵ by his mistake twenty-three years?¹⁶ But even more **strange**¹⁷ than all this: who could have told them this story and who could have imposed upon them this¹⁸ fable, since this can only be known to one who was present when Allah gave the order to Jibril and then was present at his disobeying it? Upon them the curse of Allah, the curse of those who

¹ وافر الحية + "with a rich beard."

² حينئذ صبى امرد ثم اذ كبر كان + "then a beardless boy. When he had grown up, he was."

³ اقرب + (الى القصر) "nearer" (to shortness).

⁴ مفراط سعة الحية + "with an exceedingly rich beard."

⁵ Om. ⁶ كبيرهما + "both big." ⁷ مفراط + "exceedingly."

⁸ إلا صوف صيف في قفاه + "except a tuft on his occiput." Lit., "a tuft which was tufted." I owe this explanation to Professor Torrey.

⁹ Ed. Y. الحية "beard," which makes no sense.—L. Br. الجسد "body."

¹⁰ لإفراط + "at the exaggeration." ¹¹ الطائفة + "party."

¹² Om. ¹³ من ذلك +.

¹⁴ Om. ¹⁵ فتبادى + "فتكره).

¹⁶ إن في حُفهم لَعِبْرَةٌ لِمَن أَعْتَبَرَ + "Verily, in their stupidity there is a warning for those who accept a warning!"

¹⁷ Ed. اظرف. I read اظرف. See p. 49, n. 5.

¹⁸ الخرافة (السخيفة) + "vile."

curse', and the curse of the whole of mankind" so long as human beings will last before Allah in his world !

One section believed in the prophecy of 'Alī.³ Another section believed that 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusein,⁴ 'Alī b. al-Ḥusein,⁵ Muhammed b. 'Alī, Ja'far b. Muhammed,⁶ Mûsa b. Ja'far, 'Alī b. Mûsa, Muhammed b. 'Alī, ['Alī b. Muhammed],⁷ al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī⁸ and the Expected,⁹ the son of al-Ḥasan, were all prophets.¹⁰ Another section believed in the prophecy of Muhammed b. Ismâ'il b. Ja'far only. This is the party of the *Karmatians*. Another section believed only in the prophecy of 'Alī and his three sons: al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusein and Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya. This is the party of¹¹ the *Keisāniyya*. Al-Mukhtâr¹² was constantly attempting¹³ to claim prophecy for himself: he spoke in rhymes¹⁴ and warned them against turning aside from Allah, several groups¹⁵ of the cursed Shi'ites following him in¹⁶ this belief. He¹⁷ advocated the Imâmate of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

¹ Cf. Koran II, 154; L. Br. + الملائكة "and of the angels."

² The following om.

³ b. Abī Tālib alone. "بن ابی طالب وَحْدَهُ"

⁴ Ed. Y. + رَضَهُمْ.

⁵ L. om. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusein through homoioteleuton.

⁶ رَضَهُ +.

⁷ Ed. and Codd. om. See Comm.

⁸ Ed. and Codd. Muhammed. See Comm.

⁹ + وَهُوَ مُحَمَّدٌ "i. e. Muhammed."

¹⁰ + رِسل الله تعالى "Apostles of Allah."

¹¹ Instead of طَائِفَتَانِ طَائِفَةٌ erroneously من.

¹² + لَعْنَهُ الله (Br. only لعنه الله) "Allah curse him!"

¹³ Ed. correctly حَام; Y. حَوِّم, see Dozy s.v. Lit.: "turning around." L. Br. حَرَم.

¹⁴ L. erroneously اشْجَاعًا.

¹⁵ طَائِفَةٌ "a group."

¹⁶ + تَصْدِيقٌ "holding true."

¹⁷ + مَعَ ذَلِكَ "at the same time."

One section believed in the prophecy of *al-Mugîra b. Sa'îd*, a client of the Banû Bajîla in Kûfa, the same whom Khâlid b. 'Abdallah al-Kasrî burned at the stake. This Mugîra—may Allah curse him!—used to maintain that *the object of his worship' had the shape of a man with a crown on his head and that his limbs were according to the number of the letters of the alphabet, the Alif, for instance, corresponding with the thighs, *and similar things, for which no tongue of one who belongs to any branch of religion will ever loosen itself.² Allah is mightily exalted above the assumptions of the Unbelievers! He—Allah curse him!—also maintained that *the object of his worship,³ when intending to create the world,⁴ uttered his Greatest Name which⁵ fell down on his crown. Then he wrote down with his finger [on his palm]⁶ the actions of men, both the good and the bad ones. But when he beheld the bad actions, sweat trickled down from him on account of it.⁷ From this sweat two lakes were gathered: one salty and dark, the other light and sweet. Then he looked into the lake and beheld **his shadow**.⁸ *He started to catch it,⁹ but it flew away. *At last he caught it.¹⁰ He plucked out the eyes¹¹ of his shadow and, grinding them, created out of them the sun¹² and another sun. He created the Infidels out of the salty lake and the Faithful out of the sweet lake, with an ample mixture of both. One of his beliefs also

¹ رَبِّهِ, "his Lord." See Comm.

² وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ مَا لَا يَنْطَلِقُ لَنَا لِسَانٌ بِحِكَايَتِهِ أَصْلًا "and besides this (things) which to record no tongue will loosen itself for us in any way."

³ رَبِّهِ, "his Lord."

⁴ Ed. Y. الْخَلْقُ, lit. "the creation." L. Br. الْجَنَّةُ "Paradise."

⁵ + فَطَارَ, "flew and."

⁶ L. Br. + عَلَى كَفِّهِ; Ed. Y. om. ⁷ Om. بِهِ.

⁸ Ed. ظِلْمَةٌ "darkness." Y. ظِلْمِهِ, L. Br. (and Ed. next line) correctly ظِلُّهُ.

⁹ Br. om., apparently through oversight.

¹⁰ فَادْرَكَهَ فَاحْذَهُ.

¹¹ Incorrectly عَيْنَيْنِ.

¹² + وَالْقَمَرِ, "and the moon." See Comm.

was that the prophets never differed in anything concerning the religious laws. It has been assumed that Jâbir. b. Yazîd al-Ju'fî, the same who received traditions from ash-Shu'bî, was the successor of al-Muġîra b. Sa'îd,¹ when Khâlid *b. 'Abdallah al-Ķasrî² had burned him. When Jâbir died, he was succeeded³ by Bekr al-A'war (the Blind) al-Hijrî, and when he (too) died, they transferred the leadership to 'Abdallah, the son of al-Muġîra, their above-mentioned head.⁴ They existed in Kûfa in compact numbers. The last opinions at which al-Muġîra b. Sa'îd arrived were his belief in the Imâmâte of Muhammed b. [185] 'Abdallah b. al-Ĥasan b. **al-Ĥasan**⁵ and the prohibition of the water of the Euphrates and of any⁶ river, well⁷ or cistern, into which anything unclean has fallen. Under these circumstances those who advocated⁸ the Imâmâte of the descendants of al-Ĥusein⁹ held themselves aloof from him.

One section believed in the prophecy of *Bayân b. Sam'ân*, Tamîmite by descent. Khâlid b. 'Abdallah al-Ķasrî burned him together with al-Muġîra b. Sa'îd on the same day. Al-Muġîra b. Sa'îd shrank in a most cowardly manner from clasping the bundle of wood,¹⁰ so that he had to be tied to it by force. Bayân b. Sam'ân, on the contrary, ran to the bundle and clasped it without flinching and without showing any sign of fear. Then Khâlid said to both their followers: "In everything, indeed, you behave like lunatics. This one ought to have been your¹¹ head, not that

¹ على اصحابه "over his companions."

² Om. ³ فيهم "among them." ⁴ Om. رئيسهم.

⁵ Ed. and Codd. al-Ĥusein.—L. Br. + يومئذ (Br. ومحمد) وهو حي

who then was alive, a youth of a little over twenty. Al-Muġîra advocated the prohibition."

⁶ Ed. Y. ماء "water of." It is most probably a repetition of the word before. ⁷ Om. او عين.

⁸ فتبرئ منه كل من يقول. ⁹ Al-Ĥasan.

¹⁰ القصب "reed."—وجزع جرعا مفرطا + "and was exceedingly terrified."

¹¹ رئيسهم "their."

fool.¹ Bayân b. Sam‘ân, Allah² curse him, maintained that God would entirely decay, excepting only his countenance. This lunatic actually thought that he was supported in this his heresy by the saying of Allah: “Every creation that is on it is subject to decay, and remain will only the countenance of your Lord.”³ But had he only possessed an ounce of reason or understanding, then he would have known that Allah’s statement about decay only refers to the things on earth, *in agreement with the text of the truthful saying:⁴ “Every creation that is on it is subject to decay.” But Allah does not attribute decay to *that which is not on earth.⁵ Allah’s countenance is surely Allah,⁶ not a thing different from him.⁷ *Far be it from Allah that division and fraction should be attributed to him.⁸ This is only the attribute of the created, limited beings, but not the attribute of one who is not⁹ limited¹⁰ and has no equal.¹¹ He—Allah curse him!—also maintained that it was he¹² who was meant by the saying of Allah: “This is an illustration (bayân) for mankind.”¹³ *He also adhered to the doctrine¹⁴ that the Imâm was [Abû]¹⁵ Hâshim ‘Abdallah b. Muhammed *b. al-Ḥanafīyya¹⁶ and that then ‘it (the Imâmate) passed over to all the other descendants of ‘Alî.”¹⁷

¹ L. الفشل (Br. المفضل) “coward.”

² L. om.

³ + والإكرام “glorious and honorable.”—Koran LV, 26-27.

⁴ لقوله عز وجل في الآية المذكورة.

⁵ غير ذلك.

⁶ + نفسه “himself.”

⁷ + عز وجل ولا جارحة ولا عَصَواً “nor an organ, or a limb.”

⁸ تعالى (عن + Br.) ان يوصف بالتبويض والإجزاء.

⁹ Y. om.

¹⁰ L. خفى, Br. خفي “concealed”?

¹¹ + ولا كُفُوٌ “and no match.”

¹² هو.

¹³ + وَهَدَى “and guidance.”—Koran III, 132.

¹⁴ وكان يقول.

¹⁵ Ed. Y. om.

¹⁶ b. ‘Alî b. A. T.

¹⁷ + من صلح لها منهم “those of them who were fit for it.”

A section of them believed in the prophecy of [*Abū*]¹ *Manṣūr al-Mustanīr*² al-‘Ijlī (of the Banū ‘Ijl)³, the same whose nickname was “al-Kisf”⁴ (the Fragment). He **claimed**⁵ that he was meant by the saying of Allah: “If they should see a fragment of the heaven falling down.”⁶ He was crucified by Yūsuf b. ‘Omar in Kūfa. He also—Allah⁷ curse him!—pretended that he was lifted up to heaven and that Allah, patting him on his head with his hand, said to him: “Go forth, [o] my child,⁸ and deliver (a message) from me.” The oath of his followers was: “No, by the Word!” He also—Allah curse him!—maintained that the first beings¹⁰ created by Allah were ‘Īsa b. Maryam and ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib. He held the belief in the uninterrupted succession of apostles. He permitted forbidden things, viz. adultery, wine, (the eating of) dead animals,¹¹ swine and blood, maintaining that they were nothing but proper names of men,—the bulk of the Rawāfiḍ are still of the same opinion to-day. He abolished the obligatory prayers, alms, fasts¹² and pilgrimage. His followers were all stranglers and skull breakers, just as were the followers of al-Muḡīra b. Sa‘īd. Their reason for this was that they did not permit the use of arms before he whom they expected would come forth. They consequently killed the people only by means of strangling and breaking the skull,

¹ Ed. Y. om.

² Ed. المستير.

³ L. + صليبه; Br. صليبه = صليبة or صليبه by (his) descent.

⁴ Br. بالكشف.

⁵ Ed. erroneously يقال instead of يقول.

⁶ + يقولوا سحاب مرموم “they would say: it is a thick cloud.”—

Koran LII, 44.

⁷ Br. om.

⁸ ابني, probably more correct than Ed. Y. يا بُنَيَّ.

⁹ Cf. Koran V, 71.

¹⁰ Ed. Y. مَن; L. Br. ما “things.”

¹¹ + ولحم “the meat of.”

¹² Sing.

while the *Khashabiyya* confined themselves to wooden arms.¹ Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam the Râfidite² in his book, known under the title “al-Mizân” (the Balance),—he knew them better than anyone else, because he was their neighbor in Kûfa and their *associate in doctrine³—mentions that the *Kisfiyya* particularly⁴ kill *both their adherents⁵ and opponents saying: “We (only) hurry⁶ the Faithful to Paradise and⁷ the Infidels to Hell.” After the death of *Abû Manşûr⁸ they used to deliver a fifth of the goods taken away from those [186] they killed by strangling [or breaking their skulls]⁹ to al-Ḥusein,¹⁰ the son of Abû Manşur.

¹ The last two sentences more explicit in L. Br. ومعناهم في اقتصارهم
على الخنق (الحق. Br. err.) والرضخ واقتصار الكيسائية على
القتال بالخشب فقط انهم لا يستحلون حمل شيء من السلاح
الحديد أصلاً ولو قتلوا حتى يخرج الذي ينتظرونه فحينئذ
يحملون السلاح فهم انما يقتلون بالخنق والرضخ بالحجارة
وبالخشب فقط “The reason for their confining themselves to strangling
and skull breaking and the *Keisâniyya* confining themselves to fighting
with wooden arms only, is that they do not allow to carry any iron
weapon whatsoever, even if they be killed, until he whom they expect
will come forth, when they will again carry arms. They therefore kill
only by means of strangling and breaking the skull with stones and
wooden arms.”

² الرافض.

³ Ed. Y. وشقيقهم في دعوى الشيعة.—L. Br. وجارهم في المذهب.
“and their twinbrother as regards the pretensions of the Shi'ites.”

⁴ وهم المنصورية “they are the Manşûriyya.”

⁵ “every one whom they
are able to kill, (both those belonging) to them.”

⁶ يجب ان نعجل “it is necessary that we should hurry.”

⁷ وان نعجل “and that we should hurry.”

⁸ Y. al-Manşûr.—L. Br. + لعنه “(Allah) curse him!”

⁹ او رضخوه om. in Ed. Y.

¹⁰ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

His followers were divided into two sections:¹ one maintaining that after² Muhammed b. 'Alî b. **al-Ḥusein**³ the Imâmate⁴ passed over to Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥasan b. **al-Ḥasan**;⁵ the other maintaining (that it passed over) to *Abû Mansur⁶ al-Kisf and would never return to the descendants of 'Alî.

One section⁷ believed in the prophecy of *Bazîğ*,⁸ the weaver, in Kûfa. That this claim (to prophecy) should have been raised⁹ by them in favor of a weaver is **strange**¹⁰ indeed! *Another section believed in the prophecy of *Mu'ammâr*, the corndealer, in Kûfa.¹¹ Another section believed in the prophecy of '*Omeir* at-Tabbân¹² (the strawdealer) in Kufa. He was—Allah¹³ curse him—in the habit of saying to his followers: "If I wanted to turn this straw into pure gold, I could do it." He presented himself before Khâlid¹⁴ b. 'Abdallah al-Ḳasrî and courageously¹⁵

وافترقت المنصورية فرقتين احدهما قالت . . . والفرقة
الأخرى.

² + موت "the death of."

³ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

⁴ Ed. Y. erroneously الإمام instead of الإمامة.

⁵ Ed. al-Ḥusein.

⁶ L. Br. al-M.; Ed. Y. Abû al-M.

⁷ + "of the *Khaffâbiyya*."

⁸ L. برع الحابط; Br. برع الحانك.

⁹ Ed. Y. وقع.—L. Br. تكشف = نكسف "revealed itself."

¹⁰ Ed. لطيفة; Br. البطريقه, L. لطريقه; Y. لطيفة.—طريف.
"strange" (Lane).—See p. 57, note 17.

¹¹ Only in Ed. and A. Y. om. L. Br. instead وقالت طائفة اخرى
"another group of the *Khaffâbiyya* believed in the prophecy of Sarî al-Akṣam in Kufa." See Comm.

¹² البتان.

¹³ Om.

¹⁴ + b. al-Walid, apparently owing to a confusion with Khâlid b. al-Walid, "the sword of Allah," the famous general under the first caliphs.

¹⁵ Om. فتجلد.

denounced him. Khâlid then gave orders to execute him and he was killed, in addition to the curse of Allah.¹ *These five sects all belong to the sects of the Khattâbiyya.²

A section of (our) **ancients**,³ the partisans of the Abbasides, believed in the prophecy of 'Ammâr, *with the nickname *Khidâsh*.⁴ Asad b. 'Abdallah, the brother of Khâlid b. 'Abdallah *al-Kasrî,⁵ got hold of him and killed him, in addition to the curse of Allah.⁶

2. The second party among the sects of the Extremists is that which attributes *divinity* to anyone beside Allah.

The first of them were certain people among the adherents of 'Abdallah b. Sabâ the Himyarite, may Allah curse him!⁷ They came to 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib and said⁸ in his face: "Thou

¹ وَيَسَّسَ الْمِهَادُ "and an unhappy couch shall it be." Koran II, 202.

² وَكَانَ هَؤُلَاءِ كُلُّهُمْ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ أَبِي الْخَطَّابِ لَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ "all these belong to the followers of Abû'l-Khattâb, Allah curse him!—L. Br. + وَمِنْ أَتْبَعَ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى دَعْوَاهُ النَّبُوَّةَ الْفَاسِقُ الْقَائِمُ فِي بَنِي الْعُلَيْسِ بْنِ صَمُصَمَ بْنِ عَدَّى بْنِ جَنَابٍ (حَبَابِ ل.) مِنْ كَلْبِ الَّذِي أُحْرِقَ (أَخْرَفَ ل.) فِي وَقْعَتِهِ مِنْ طُغْجٍ (Codd. unp.) وَصَاحِبِ الزَّنْجِ الْقَائِمِ بِالْبَصْرَةِ لَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ وَكِلَاهُمَا ادَّعَى أَنَّهُ عَلَوِيٌّ وَهَمَا *Among those who imitated his example in claiming prophecy was the scoundrel who arose among the Banû 'l-Uleis b. Dam-ḡam b. 'Adî b. Janâb of the Keib (and) who was burned in his battle with (?) Ṭugg, also the leader of the Zenj who rose in Kûfa,—Allah curse him! They both pretended to be 'Alides and they were both liars in this claim.*" See Comm.

³ L. Br. الْأَوَّلَاءِ "the ancients."—Ed. Y. أَوْلَائِكَ "those," does not seem to convey a proper meaning.

⁴ الْمَكْنَى بِأَبِي خِرَاشٍ "with the Kunya Abû Khirâsh."

⁵ Om. here and add after "Asad b. 'Abdallah."—+ "in Khorâsân."

⁶ + عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَغَضَبُهُ "and his anger."

⁷ L. om. "Allah."—L. Br. + وَالِيَهُ تَنْسَبُ السَّبَائِيَّةُ "to whom the Sabâ'iyya trace their origin."

⁸ + لَهُ "to him."

art he!" He asked them "Who is he?" and they answered "Thou art Allah." 'Alî, however, took the matter very seriously and gave orders to kindle a fire and he burned them in it. While they were being thrown into the fire, they started shouting: "Now we feel certain that he is 'Allah. For none but Allah punishes by fire." Regarding this (incident) he³ said:

[Rajaz] "When I saw that the matter became an illegal matter,

I kindled a fire and called *Ḳanbar*."

By *Ḳanbar* he refers to his slave, the same who was charged with throwing them* into the fire.—Let us seek refuge in Allah from being led into temptation through a created being and a created being from being led into temptation through us, be it in a great or small (thing). For the temptation of Abû 'l-Ḥasan (i. e. 'Alî) in the midst of his followers is like the temptation of 'Îsa⁵ in the midst of his followers, the Apostles.

⁶This sect still subsists today, (nay), is even increasing and embraces large numbers. They are called the '*Ulyāniyya*.' One of them was Ishâk b. Muhammed an-Nakha'î (of the Banû an-Nakha'), al-Aḥmar (the Red), of Kûfa, who was one of their dogmatists. He wrote a book on this subject under the title "*as-Sirât*" (the Path). He was refuted⁸ by al-Bḥnî (?)⁹ and al-Fayyâd *as regards (his views) mentioned above.¹⁰ *They maintain that Muhammed is the Apostle of 'Alî.

¹ Br. *أنتك*; L. *انك انت* "that thou art."

² + *تعالى الله عن كفرهم* "Allah is exalted above their unbelief."

³ *يقول على* "Alî."

⁴ Om.

⁵ Ed. Y. + *صلى الله عليه وسلم*, the formula otherwise used only after the mention of the Prophet.—L. Br. the same formula after "the Apostles."

⁶ + Says Abû Muhammed.

⁷ Br. *العلبانى*. See Comm.

⁸ Ed. Y. *نقض عليه* (refuter, Dozy). L. *ببصة*, Br. *بقصة*, probably meant *نقضه*.

⁹ Ed. Y. here and later *البهني*; Br. twice *البهتي*, L. here *النهيني*. *Mas'ûdî, Murûjad-Dahab*, iii, 265 *النهيني*.

¹⁰ Om.—+ b. 'Alî.

A group of Shi'ites, known as the *Muhammadiyya*, maintains¹ that Muhammad is Allah,—but Allah is exalted above their unbelief. To these belonged al-Bhnikî and al-Fayyâd * b. 'Alî.² The latter composed a book on this topic, which he called "al-Kustâs"³ (the Balance). His father was the well-known Kâtib, who first occupied this post under ' Abdallah b. Kandâj, when the latter was Wâli,⁴ then⁵ under the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mu'taḍid.⁶ It was with reference to him that al-Buhturî composed the well-known⁷ poem, of which the beginning runs thus:

[Khafif] Far from the inhabitant⁸ of **Guweir**⁹ is
[his (present) place of visitation]¹⁰.
The (long) travels have emaciated him. But¹¹
[Allah is his patron].¹²

[187] The said al-Fayyâd,—Allah curse him!—was killed by al-Kâsim b. 'Abdallah¹³ b. Suleimân b. Wahb, because he was among those who denounced the latter in the days of al-Mu'taḍid. The story* is well known.

¹ In L. Br. corrupt probably owing to a homoioteleuton: ويقولون
ان من ضلالة (Br. الصلاة) الشيعة ايضا يقولون ان حمدا.
Read ويقولون ان [حمدا رسول على و] من ضلالة الشيعة
ايضا [ان] يقولون ان حمدا.

² Om.—+ علي بن محمد بن علي بن الفياض وهو الفياض المذكور آنفاً
الذَيْن ذكرنا آنفاً وهو الفياض بن علي بن محمد بن علي بن الفياض
mentioned just now. It is al-Fayyâd b. 'Alî b. Muhammed b.
al-Fayyâd."

³ Ed. Br. القسطاس; Y. القسطاص; L. العسطاطر (sic).

⁴ + الجزيرة "over Mesopotamia."

⁵ + كتب "he was Kâtib."

⁶ L. om.

⁷ Om.

⁸ L. Br. ساكني "inhabitants." Buhturî, *Divân* (ed. Constantinople, 1300 H.) ii, 86 as Ed.

⁹ Ed. Y. L. الغريش.—Br. and Buhturî as above.

¹⁰ Ed. Y. مرارة; L. Br. and Buht. مزارة (pronounce مَرَارَة).

¹¹ Ed. and Codd. و; Buht. ف.

¹² Ed. Y. حارة; L. Br. and Buht. جارة (= رجاء).

¹³ 'Ubeidallah.

Another section believed in the divinity of Adam and the prophets' after him, prophet after prophet, down to Muhammed, then in the divinity of 'Alî, then in the divinity of al-Ḥasan, then² al-Ḥusein, [then 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein];³ then Muhammed b. 'Alî, then Ja'far b. Muhammed, and here they stopped. The Khattâbiyya one day publicly proclaimed this belief in Kûfa, when 'Isa b. Mûsa b. Muhammed b. Alî b. 'Abdallah b. al-'Abbâs was Wâli.⁴ They came out in the middle of the day in large crowds, attired in belts and cloaks like pilgrims, and shouting at the top of their voices: "With thee, o Ja'far! with thee, o Ja'far!" 'Ibn 'Ayâsh and others say: "It is, as if I saw them (as they were) that day." 'Isa b. Mûsa encountered them and they fought against him. But he killed them and exterminated them.

Then another section enlarged upon the above-mentioned doctrine and believed in the divinity of Muhammed b. Ismâ'il b. Ja'far b. Muhammed. These were the *Karmatians*. Among the latter were some who believed in the divinity of **Abû Sa'id al-Ḥasan b. Bahrâm al-Jannabî*⁵ and his sons after him. *Some of them believed in the divinity⁷ of *Abû 'l-Kâsim an-Najjâr*, who rose in Yemen in the lands of the Banû Hamdân and was called al-Manşûr.⁸

¹ المشتهوة-النبیین L. Br. om. by oversight.

² Here and before each following name + بالاهية .

³ Ed. om. ⁴ + "of Kûfa." ⁵ + "Abû Bekr."

⁶ L. Br. (Br. الجبای (الحمای) . Ed. Y. ابى سعيد الحسن بن . See Comm. بهرام الجبای

⁷ L. Br. instead وبالاهية كسر الاصفهاني وبالاهية "and in the divinity of Ksr (?) of Isfahân and in the divinity."

⁸ وكان يكتنم اسمه لعنه الله وقيل ان اسمه الحسين بن قَرَج +
بن حَوْشَب (خَوْشَب Codd) وكان كوفي الدار وطائفة قالت
بالاهية على بن الفضل (المفضل possibly) بن يزيد مولى بنى
زيد المنسوب الى ابى سُفْيَان القائم بالجند وببلاد ذى مناخ
باليمن وطائفة قالت بالاهية البوارى القائم بالسواد
curse him!—used to conceal his name. They say, his name was al-Ḥusein
b. Faraj b. Ḥaushab. His residence was in Kûfa. Another group

Another section of them believed in the divinity of ‘*Ubeidallah*, then of those of his descendants who ruled after him until this day.

One group believed in the divinity of *Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb* Muhammed b. Abî Zeinab, a client of the Banû Asad in Kûfa. Their number grew so large that it exceeded the thousands. They said: “he¹ is a god, and Ja‘far b. Muhammed is a god. But Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb is greater than the other.” They used to say²: “all the descendants of al-Ḥasan [and al-Ḥusein]³ are the sons and favorites⁴ of Allah.” They believed that they would not die, but would be lifted up to heaven. The Sheikh whom you see (now), affected the likeness with this one before the people.⁵

Then one group of them believed in the divinity of *Mu‘ammar*, a corndealer in Kûfa, whom they worshipped. *He was one of the followers of Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb, may Allah curse them all!⁶

Another group believed in the divinity of **al-Ḥusein**⁷ b. Maṣṣûr [*al-Ḥallâj*]⁸, a dresser of cotton, who was crucified in Bagdad through the efforts of the Vizier Ḥâmid b. al-‘Abbâs,—may Allah have mercy on him!—in the days of al-Muḩṭadir.

Another group believed in the divinity of Muhammed b. ‘Alî b. **ash-Shalmaġân**,⁹ the Kâtib,¹⁰ who was killed in Bagdad in

believed in the divinity of ‘Alî b. al-Faḩl b. Yazîd, a client of the Banû Ziyâd, who traced his genealogy to Abû Sufyân, who rose in Janad and in the lands of the Du-Manâkh in Yemen. Another group believed in the divinity of al-Bawârî, who rose in Sawâd.”

¹ هذا “this one.”

² + ان “that.”

³ Ed. and Codd. om. See Comm.

⁴ Om. وَأَحْبَاؤُهُ.

⁵ تَشَبَّهَ (Br. دشبه, L. unp.) عَلَى النَّاسِ بِذَلِكَ (Br. بهذا) الشَّيْخُ

المفتون “the mad Sheikh.”—The translation of this phrase is not certain. See Comm.

⁶ Om.

⁷ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

⁸ Ed. Y. om.

⁹ + Ibn.

¹⁰ Ed. A. السليمان, Y. ل scratched out, L. Br. here and later

السليمان. See Comm.

¹¹ + (Br. unp.) المعروف بابن الفراقد “known as Ibn al-Farâḩîd.” See Comm.

the days of ar-Râdi. *He ordered those of his followers who were of higher attainments to have criminal intercourse with him,¹ so as to make the Light penetrate into him.

All these sects advocate the communism of wives.²

Another group of them believed in the divinity of *Shibâsh*,³ who is still alive and **resides**⁴ in Baṣra in our own time.

Another group of them believed in the divinity of *Abû Muslim* as-Sirâj. *Then one group of these believed⁵ in the divinity of⁶ *al-Mukanna* al-A'war (the Blind), the fuller, who arose⁷ to revenge Abû Muslim. *The name of this fuller was Hâshim.⁸ He was killed—may Allah curse him!—in the days of al-Manṣûr.

The **Rawandiyya**⁹ believed in the divinity of Abû Ja'far¹⁰ *al-Manṣûr*. They professed it publicly. *But al-Mansûr came out and killed them and wiped them out.¹¹

¹ *He used to order his followers that the more excellent one of them should have criminal intercourse with the inferior one.*" This is most probably correct.

وَمَنْ قَتَلَ عَلَى الْقَوْلِ بِالْأَهْيَةِ هَذَا الْمَلْعُونِ ابْنَ الشَّلْمِغَانِ +
حِينَئِذٍ الْوَزِيرُ الْحُسَيْنُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ وَهْبٍ
ابْنِ سَعِيدٍ الْمُسَمَّى عَمِيدَ الدَّوْلَةِ الْمَلَقَّبَ بِأَبِي الْجَمَالِ (الجمال)
وَكَانَتْ أُمُّهُ بِنْتُ الْوَزِيرِ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ الْجَرَّاحِ (مخلد Br.) وَقَتَلَ مَعَهُ
عَلَى ذَلِكَ ابْنُ أَبِي عَوْنٍ (الكاتب Br.) أَمْرٌ بِقَتْلِهِمَا عَلَى ذَلِكَ
الرَّاضِي *Among those who were then killed because they believed in the divinity of this cursed Ibn ash-Shalmagân was the Vizier al-Husein b. 'Ubeidallah b. Suleimân b. Wahb b. Sa'id, called 'Amîd ad-Dawla (Pillar of the Dynasty), with the nickname Abû'l Jamâl (Father of Elegance). His mother was the daughter of the Vizier al-Husein b. al-Jarrah (Br. Mkhld).—Together with him was killed for the same reason Ibn Abî 'Aun (Br. + the Kâtib). Ar-Râdî ordered their execution on account of it."*

² Ed. Y. شِبَاش; L. Br. unp. The pronunciation is uncertain.

⁴ Ed. misprint المغميم. ⁵ Only ثم.

⁶ + Hâshim. ⁷ + "in Merv."

⁸ Om.

⁹ Ed. Y. الزودية L. Br., الزودية. See Comm.

¹⁰ + "the Commander of the Faithful."

¹¹ فخرج اليهم بنفسه وأمر بقتلهم فقتلوا كلهم الى لعنة الله

"he himself came out and ordered to kill them. They were all killed, in addition to the curse of Allah."

Another group of them believed in the divinity of 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥārith' of the Banū Kinda' in Kūfa, whom they worshipped. He believed in the Transmigration of Souls. He imposed upon them³ **seventeen**⁴ prayers (every) day and night,⁵ each prayer having fifteen⁶ "bows." Later, however, [188], one of the dogmatists of the Ṣufriyya having argued with him and having clearly put forth the arguments for the (true) religion,⁷ he became a Muslim⁸ and his Islam was sound. He renounced all the beliefs he had held previously. He informed his followers of it *and openly showed his repentance.⁹ Thereupon all his followers *who had worshipped him and had professed his divinity withdrew from him. They cursed him and deserted him,¹⁰ and they all returned to the belief in the Imāmate of 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥārith, however, persevered *in Islam and¹¹ in the doctrine of the Ṣufriyya till he died. *His party is still known today as the *Kharbiyya*.¹²

To the **Sabā'iyya**,¹³ who profess the divinity of 'Alī, belongs a party¹⁴ known as the **Nuṣeiriyya**.¹⁵ They got hold in our own

¹ L. and Ed. ii, 115 الحرت; Br. الحرت (with a soft ح under the line). Ed. Y. here and later الحرب. See Comm.

² صليبة + "by descent."

³ على أتباعهم "upon his followers."

⁴ Ed. Y. 19. See Comm.

⁵ L. every day (Br. + and night).

⁶ خمسة عشر; Ed. Y. خمس عشرة.

⁷ "the religion of Islam."

⁸ باختياره + "by his own free will."

⁹ Om.

¹⁰ الذين كانوا يعبدونه ويقرون بالاهيئته فكذبوه وتبرؤوا منه ولعنوه.

¹¹ Om. probably owing to homoioteleuton.

¹² (sic) وهم الى اليوم يعرفون بالحريسة after "Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib."

¹³ Ed. Y. السبائية; L. Br. السبانية. See Comm.

¹⁴ Ed. misprint طائفة instead of وطائفة.

¹⁵ Ed. Y. النصرية; L. البصرية; Br. A. النصرية. See Comm.

time *of the army of Urdunn in Palestine and especially of the city of Tiberias.¹ It is one of their tenets to curse² Fâtima, the daughter of the Apostle of Allah, and to curse al-Hasan and al-Husein, the sons of 'Alî, to denounce them in a most detestable manner,³ to charge them with every possible calamity and to assert positively that she and her two sons—may Allah be pleased with them and curse their haters!—were devils who assumed the shape of human beings.⁴ As regards their opinion about 'Abderrâhmân b. Muljam al-Murâdî (of the Banû Murâd),⁵ the murderer of 'Alî—may Allah be pleased with him⁷ and may the curse of Allah (rest) upon Ibn Muljam!—these (people) maintain *that 'Abderrâhmân b. Muljam al-Murâdî⁸ is the most excellent of all the people of the earth and the most honored⁹ of them in the future world, because he purified¹⁰ the spirit of the Deity from what had stuck to it of the darkness and turbidity¹¹ of the body. Marvel ye at this madness and ask ye of Allah deliverance from the affliction of this and the future world, for it is in his hands, not in anyone else's. May Allah make our portion of it most plentiful!

*Know ye that among all those that count themselves to the religion of Islam, while adhering to these abominable heterodoxies,¹²

¹ على مدينة الطبرية بالشام وعلى جمهور جند الاردن.

² "one of their disgraceful tenets is the denouncing." Instead of *ومن قوله* L. blank.

³ ونسبهم ناصرع النسب (sic).

⁴ Instead of *الجن*, Br. *الحسن*, L. *الانسان*.

⁵ L. 'Abdallah.

⁶ Om.

⁷ Ed. Y. + *عن علي* "with 'Alî." It is a gloss to *عنه* which crept into the text.

⁸ Only *أذنه* "that he."

⁹ A. *أكرههم* "the most repugnant." Y. *س* scratched out and *م* substituted.

¹⁰ *يخلص* (imperfect form).

¹¹ Br. *فكدوبة (= فكدوبة)* instead of *وكدرة*.

¹² *واعلموا ان (ان) كل من ينتمى الى دين الاسلام هذه الكفرات الفاحشة التي ذكرنا من دعوى الربوبية* "Know ye that all those who reckon these abominable heterodoxies mentioned before, viz., the claim of Divinity, to the religion of Islam."

—that their (vivifying) element are only the Shi'ites¹ and Ṣūfis.² For there are people among the Ṣūfis who maintain³ that he who has attained the knowledge of God is exempt from the (religious) precepts.⁴ Some of them add⁵: “and becomes united with the Almighty.” We have been told that there is now in Nisābūr in our own age a man, whose Kunya is Abū Sa'id Abū'l-Kheir—thus (two Kunyas) together⁶—belonging to the Ṣūfis. Sometime he dresses himself in wool⁷, another time he dresses himself in silk⁸ which is forbidden to men. Now he prays thousand “bows” on one day, now⁹ he recites neither the obligatory nor the voluntary prayer. This is pure apostasy. Let us seek refuge in Allah from error !

C. The Imāmate of the 'Alides.

[Printed Edition (=Ed.) IV, pp. 92-94 ; Codex Leyden (=L.) II, fol. 87a ff. Codex British Museum (=Br.) II, fol. 22^b ff. The variants quoted anonymously are taken from L. and Br. and, if not otherwise stated, identical in both.]

Those who maintain that the Imāmate is only permissible in the descendants of 'Alī are divided into two parties.

One party maintains that the Apostle of Allah put down a written statement concerning 'Alī, viz. that he was to be the

¹ الشنيع “the detestable.” Read التشيع “Shi'ism.”

² لأن كِلْتَا + “the doctrine of the Ṣūfis.” ومذهب الصوفية الطائفتين اصحاب التأويلات وخروج عن ظاهر القرآن بدعاويهم الفاسدة “for both parties are advocates of (allegorical) interpretation and of giving up the open meaning of the Koran through their corrupt pretensions.”

³ ومن قول بعض الصوفية “one of the views of some Ṣūfis is.”

⁴ الأعمال الشرعية “religious practices.”

⁵ زاد (instead of وزان).

⁶ هكذا كنيتمان مجموعتان (مجموعان L.) معًا “thus two Kunyas joined together.”—+ حنفي المذهب “of the Hanafitic school.”

⁷ + L. الخشن “coarse.” Br. erroneously الحسن “beautiful.”

⁸ + الصرْف “pure.”

⁹ L. ويومًا = ويوم “and one day.”

Caliph after him, but the Companions after him' unanimously agreed upon doing wrong to 'Alī and upon keeping to themselves the statement of the Prophet. These are the so-called¹ *Rawāfiḍ*.

The other party says: The Prophet never put down a written statement concerning 'Alī. Yet he was the most excellent of men after the Apostle of Allah and worthier of the command² than any of them. These are the *Zeidiyya*, who trace their origin to Zeid b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusein b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Then the *Zeidiyya* fell asunder into several sections. One group said that³ the Companions did him wrong, and they declared those of the Companions who opposed him apostates.

*These are the *Jārūdiyya*.

Another group maintained that the Companions⁴ did not do him any wrong, but he was pleased to concede his rights to Abū Bekr and 'Omar, who consequently were Imāms of right guidance, some of them stopping at 'Othmān, while others observing a friendly attitude towards him. *A number of people mention⁵ that this was the doctrine⁷ of the Faḳīh al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy al-Hamdānī (of the Banū Hamdān).⁸ Says Abū Muhammed: This is a mistake. *I have seen in the book of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam the Rāfiḍite of Kūfa⁹, known under the title [93] "al-Mīzān" (the Balance), that he mentions al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy and also (states) that his doctrine was that the Imāmate was permissible in all the descendants of Fīhr b. Mālik. Says Abū Muhammed: This is the only thing which suits al-Ḥasan¹⁰ b. Ḥayy. For he was one of the Imāms of the (true) religion and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam knew him better than those who attribute to him other views. Hishām was his neighbor in Kūfa and

¹ وهؤلاء هم "after his death." ² بعد موته.

³ بالخلافة "the caliphate." ⁴ كل "all."

⁵ Om., probably owing to homoioteleuton.

⁶ وذكر بعض من يآلف في المقالات "Some of those who write on heterodox views." See Comm.

⁷ قول.

⁸ + "al-Kūfi."

⁹ لأن هشام بن الحكم عميد الرافضة قال في كتابه "for Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, the pillar of the Rawāfiḍ, says in his book."

¹⁰ + b. Ṣāliḥ.

knew him better than all other people, having reached his generation and having seen him personally. (Besides), al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy¹—may Allah have mercy on him!—quotes² Mu‘awiya and Ibn Zubeir as authorities, as is well known from his books³ *as well as from the traditions of those who received traditions from him.⁴

⁵All the *Zeidiyya* unanimously agree that the Imâmte is permissible in all the descendants of ‘Alî, as far as they go forth appealing to the Book and the Sunna and carrying(?)⁶ a sword with them.

The *Rawâfiḍ* maintain that the Imâmte is due to ‘Alî himself⁷ on account of a written statement concerning him. Then it (passes over) to al-Ḥasan, then to al-Ḥusein—they claim another written statement of the Prophet concerning these two, after their father,—then to ‘Alî b. al-Ḥusein by reason of the saying of Allah: “And those who are related by blood are the nearest of kin to each other, according to the Book of Allah.”⁸ Therefore, they say, have the descendants of al-Ḥusein⁹ better claims than [the sons of]¹⁰ his brother. Then (the Imâmte passes over) to Muhammed b. ‘Alî b. al-Ḥusein, then to Ja‘far b. Muhammed b. ‘Alî b. al-Ḥusein. This is the doctrine of all their dogmatists, viz. Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam, Hishâm al-Juwâlikî, Dâwud al-Ḥawârî,¹¹ Dâwud ar-Rakḳî, ‘Alî b. Manṣûr, ‘Alî b. Mîṭam,¹² Abû ‘Alî ash-Shakkâk,¹³ the pupil of Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam, Muhammed b. Ja‘far *b. an-Nu‘man¹⁴ Sheitân at-Tâk, Abû Mâlik¹⁵ of Ḥaḍramaut and others.

¹ Sâliḥ.

² + في كثير من مسأله “in many of his religious responsa.”

³ Singular.

⁴ بروايات الثقات “through the traditions of reliable authorities.”

⁵ + Says Abû Muhammed.

⁶ Ed. وحمل. L. وحمله (sic). Br. وحنهف. I cannot make out what this reading means. I propose وحمل “and carry.”

⁷ Om.

⁸ Koran VIII, 76.—L. Br. om. الله.

⁹ L. al-Ḥasan.

¹⁰ Ed. om. بني.

¹¹ الجوارى.

¹² Ed. هيثم. See Comm.

¹³ Ed. Br. السكاك. See Comm.

¹⁴ Om.—+ المعروف “known as.”

¹⁵ Ed. and Codd. written ملك.

The Rawâfîd then disagreed after the death of those ('Alides) mentioned above, (especially) after the death of Ja'far b. Muhammed. One party assigned the Imâmâte to his son Ismâ'il b. Ja'far.¹ Another party assigned the Imâmâte to his son Muhammed b. Ja'far. *But these are few.² *Still another party maintained that Ja'far was alive and that he has not died.³

The bulk of the Rawâfîd, however, assign the Imâmâte to his son Mûsa b. Ja'far, then 'Alî b. Mûsa, then Muhammed b. 'Alî b. Mûsa, *then 'Alî b. Muhammed b. 'Alî b. Mûsa,⁴ then al-Ḥasan b. 'Alî.⁵ This al-Ḥasan died without offspring and they were (consequently) divided into several sections. The bulk of them firmly assert that a male child was born to al-Ḥasan *b. 'Alî,⁶ but he hid him. Other people, however, maintain that he was born after al-Ḥasan's death from a slave girl of his by the name of Şakîl, *and this is the view most commonly accepted.⁷ Some of them however say: no, from a slave girl of his by the name of Narjis. Still others say: no, but from a slave girl of his by the name of Sausan. But the most probable⁸ is that her name was Şakîl. For this Şakîl pretended *to be with child after al-Ḥasan b. 'Alî her master,⁹ and his estate remained for this reason unsettled for seven years, being contested by his brother Ja'far b. 'Alî.¹⁰ A number of leading statesmen took her part, while others took Ja'far's part. Then her pretension* of pregnancy¹¹ exploded and was annihilated, and Ja'far his brother took possession of the estate. *The death of this al-Ḥasan took

وَادَّعَوْا أَنَّهُ حَيٌّ لَمْ يَمُتْ وَالَّذِي لَا شَكَّ فِيهِ أَنَّهُ مَاتَ فِي حَيَاتِهِ +¹
 (حيات) "They claimed that he was alive, and that he never died. But there is no doubt that he died during the lifetime of his father. He was his eldest son."

² Br. om.

³ L. om. owing to homoioteleuton.

⁴ Om.

⁵ Muhammed.

⁶ Om.

⁷ Om.

⁸ والأشهر عندهم "and the most commonly accepted among them."

⁹ .انها حامل اذ مات سيدها الحسن .

وكان موت الحسن هذا سنة ستين ومائتين بسر من رأى +¹⁰

"The death of this al-Ḥasan took place in 260 in Surr man Ra'a."

¹¹ ما ادّعت من الحمل .

place in 260.¹ But the contest of the Rawâfîd about this Şakîl and her claims still grew (worse), until al-Mu'taḍid imprisoned her,² twenty-odd years after the death of her master. She had been accused³ of living in the house of al-Ḥasan b. Ja'far an-Nûbakhtî⁴ [94], the Kâtib,⁵ and she was (actually) found there and then transported to the castle of al-Mu'taḍid, where she remained until she died in the days of al-Muḥtadir. But they (the Rawâfîd) are still waiting for a lost object⁶ since 180⁷ years.

There existed in olden times a party which is now extinct, whose head was al-Mukhtâr b. Abî 'Ubeid,⁸ (also) Keisân Abû 'Omra⁹ and others. They were of the opinion that after al-Ḥusein¹⁰ the Imâm was his brother Muhammed, known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. To this party¹¹ belonged as-Sayyid¹² al-Ḥimyarî and Kuṭayyir 'Azza, the two poets. They maintained that Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya was alive in the mountains of Raḍwâ.

¹ Om. here.

² كسبها "acquired her."

³ Ed. غير does not seem to convey a proper sense. L. Br. غمز. See Comm.

⁴ Unpointed.

⁵ الملقب بمزمله "with the nickname Mizmala (?)."

⁶ Om. ضالة.

⁷ منذ مائة عام وثمانيين عاما "since hundred and eighty-odd years." See Introduction, p. 19.—+ لا يدرون في أي كنيف غرق "They do not know in which privy he may have sunk." Ed. in all probability intentionally omitted.

⁸ + الثقفى "of the Banû Takîfa."

⁹ Ed. incorrectly ابا; L. Br. المكنى بابى عمرة المكنى بيان وغيرهم. المكنى بيان is a gloss to the first المكنى بيان which crept into the text.—وغيرهم instead of the dual is probably due to the ignorance of the copyist, who took the gloss for a new name.

¹⁰ L. al-Ḥasan. Br. الحسن على (sic).

¹¹ الطبقة "lot."

¹² + "b. Ismâ'il."

They were addicted to eccentric ideas, for whose description¹ volumes would not suffice.²

Says Abū Muhammed: The pillar of all these parties in their arguments are interpolated and forged traditions, the production of which is not beyond the reach of those who have neither religion nor shame.

D. Synopsis of the Tenets of the Shi'ites.

[Codex Leyden (=L.) II, fol. 162^b; Codex British Museum (=Br.) II, 125^b.]

تَمَثِيل أَقْوَال الشَّيْعَةِ، قَالَتِ الشَّيْعَةُ عَلَى أَفْضَلِ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ
اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَحَقَّهُمْ بِالْإِمَامَةِ فَلَمَّا عَزَمُوا عَلَى
ذَلِكَ وَحَقَّقُوهُ قَالَ قَائِلٌ مِنْهُمْ فَإِذَا الْأَمْرُ كَذَلِكَ فَالْأُمَّةُ مُخْطِئَةٌ
بِتَقْدِيمِهَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ ثُمَّ عُثْمَانَ فَجَبَدْنَ عَنْ ذَلِكَ الْحَسَنَ
بْنِ حَظِيٍّ وَجُمْهُورَ الزُّيْدِيَّةِ وَانصَرَفُوا عَنْ ذَلِكَ الشَّعْبِ وَاقْتَحَمَهُ
سَائِرُ الشَّيْعَةِ فَلَمَّا حَقَّقُوا خَطَأَ الْأُمَّةِ كُلِّهَا قَالَ قَائِلٌ مِنْهُمْ فَقَدْ
ظَلَمُوا إِذَنْ وَفَسَقُوا وَكَفَرُوا إِذَا تَدِينُوا بِمَا لَا يَحِلُّ وَدِينُ اللَّهِ
عِزُّ وَجَلُّ لَا يَحِلُّ أَخْذُهُ عَنْ فِسَاقٍ وَلَا عَنْ كُفَّارٍ فَنفَرَ مِنْ هَذَا
الشَّعْبِ سَلِيمَانُ بْنُ جَرِيرٍ وَالتَّمَّارُ وَأَصْحَابُهُمَا وَاقْتَحَمَهُ سَائِرُ
الشَّيْعَةِ فَلَمَّا عَزَمُوا عَلَى ذَلِكَ وَحَقَّقُوهُ قَالَ قَائِلٌ مِنْهُمْ فَإِذَا ذَلِكَ
كَذَلِكَ فَعَلَى قَدَرٍ كَفَرُوا إِذَا أَيْدَى أَهْلُ الْكُفْرِ وَأَعَانَ عَلَى إِبْطَالِ الدِّينِ

¹ "many." الكثيرة +

ولقد ذُكِرَ أَنَّهُ قِيلَ لِلسَّيِّدِ الْحَمِيرِيِّ لَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ مَنْ مَعَكَ عَلَى +²

It has been mentioned that as-Sayyid al-Himyarî—Allah curse him!—was once asked: "who is thy associate in this doctrine?" and he answered: "a cobbler in Rai (Teheran)." See Comm.

اذ لم يكشف وجهه فهو وهم سواء فنفرت الشيعة جملةً من هذا الشعب واتكمت ابو كامل ومن اتبعه فلما حققوا ذلك قال قائل منهم فإن الامر كذلك فمحمّد هو الظالم المسيّب لكل ذلك اذ لم يبين الامر يقطع العذر به وقال قائل منهم آخر بل جبريل هو الظالم اذ عدا بالنبوة عن عليّ الى محمد قال ابو محمد ما هم إلا مستحقون مستهزؤون ونعوذ بالله من الضلال.

Synopsis of the Tenets of the Shi'ites.

The Shi'ites say: 'Alî is the most excellent of the Companions of the Apostle of Allah and worthier of the Imâmate than any of them. This having been settled and established, one of them said: If the matter be such, then the nation committed a sin by nominating Abû Bekr, then 'Omar, then 'Othmân. Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy¹ and the bulk of the Zeidiyya shrank from this (consequence) and turned aside from this narrow pass, while the rest of the Shi'ites rushed into it. The sinfulness of the whole nation having been established, one of them said: If so, then they (i. e. the Companions who submitted to those nominated) acted wrongly, and became irreligious and apostates,² since they professed something that is forbidden, and it is therefore not allowed to receive the religion of Allah from irreligious men or apostates. Suleimân b. Jarir³, at-Tammar⁴ and their followers flee from this narrow pass, while the rest of the Shi'ites rush into it. This having been settled and established, one of them said: If this be so, then 'Alî also *became an apostate,⁵ having assisted the adherents of apostasy and having contributed towards the annihilation of religion, since he did not uncover

¹ Codd. حمي .

² Br. om. وكفروا (purposely).

³ Codd. الحريير .

⁴ Codd. "Ibn at-Tammâr."

⁵ Br. om. See p. 55.

his face; he and they are therefore alike. All the Shi'ites flee from this narrow pass, while Abû Kâmil and those that follow him rush into it. This having been established, one of them said: *If the matter be such, then Muhammed is the guilty one who set free all these (contentions) by not having explained the matter (so as) to cut down all pretexts regarding it.¹ Another one of them said: Surely, Jibrîl alone is guilty, because he passed with the prophecy from Alî to Muhammed.

Says Abû Muhammed: They do nothing but show contempt and make fun (of Allah). Let us seek refuge in Allah from error!

[The Commentary will follow in the next number of this Journal.]

¹ L. om. owing to homoioteleuton.